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CLOSER RELATIONS WITH CANADA.—The application made by the Minister of England for a new treaty of reciprocity with Canada has naturally led to an inquiry into our relations to the Dominion in all their bearings upon our and their commercial, political, and social interests. The subject is very thoroughly examined in a lengthy article in the present issue of *THE REPUBLIC*. The writer has, we believe, handled the subject impartially and with commendable fairness. His conclusions will, we have reason to know, be pretty generally indorsed, if not adopted, on both sides the boundary line.

There is no reason why the Dominion and the United States may not be one people and under one government ere the 4th of July, 1876, the time of the first centenary anniversary of North American nationality. Such a consummation would benefit every individual on either side, and bring blessings to the entire continent, and ultimately the whole world.

MR. FIELD ON THE TARIFF.—The speech of Hon. Moses W. Field, delivered in the United States Congress, on the working of the tariff and its effects upon our industries, will repay a careful perusal by every reader of *THE REPUBLIC*. It will be found in the Appendix. In the position taken by Mr. Field that the largest portion of the revenue receipts from the tariff are drawn from the profits of the foreign producer, and not from the pockets of the American consumer, he is fully sustained by practical expe-

rience, and now by political economists generally. It is not so in all other countries; but here where the home product preponderates in quantity so largely over the foreign article in our markets, the former, of necessity, controls and regulates the market prices, and the latter, after paying duties must submit to prices already established.

If the duties were a tax on consumers instead of producers, why do England and Germany use every possible influence to have the American duties lowered; or why does the Dominion of Canada ask imploringly for a treaty of free trade reciprocity?

Duties levied on tea and coffee, and on all goods consumed of which *no part* is raised or produced in the United States, is a *tax* on our own people. Hence the wisdom of the policy which removed all duties from tea and coffee, and other goods the entire consumption of which in our country is of foreign growth or product.

THE California Assembly recently declared, by a vote of 38 to 31, that women are eligible to hold any educational office to which they may be elected. The same declaration has been made by the State of Massachusetts.

THE oarsmen of Oxford have again met defeat at the hands of Cambridge. In the English university boat race, which took place March 28, Cambridge won in 23 minutes and 35 seconds. This makes five consecutive victories for Cambridge.

THE expenses of the Canadian Government for the current year largely exceed the receipts. Additional taxation will be required to meet the deficiency.

HENRI ROCHEFORT, Paschal Grousset, and four other political prisoners of France, escaped from the penal colony at New Caledonia the latter part of March. They boldly put to sea in a small boat, and after drifting for three days were picked up by a British sailing vessel and brought to an Australian port. Rochefort intends visiting the United States to fill his depleted pockets by a lecturing tour.

IN a recent lecture, Henry Ward Beecher stated that the debts of Christendom, created through war, aggregate over \$21,000,000,000.

UNION COLLEGE, Schenectady, N. Y., is in receipt of a gift from "one of its friends," of \$50,000 to be used for educational purposes. Mr. Brown, of the New York firm of Brown Brothers, recently presented the college with \$100,000.

THE California Legislature adjourned *sine die* March 30. Both the transportation and commissioners bill and that for the election of United States Senator by the people were defeated before the adjournment.

DIRECT steamship traffic has begun between Liverpool and Galveston, Texas. The Black Star line will have five vessels on the route, two of 1,200 and three of 2,200 tons each. The latter vessels will carry 4,000 bales of cotton each.

THERE is a scheme on foot in Canada for the establishment of a military school similar to that of West Point.

THE United States Treasury Department has the following official information of casualties happening to vessels along the coast of the United States for the quarter ending March 31, 1874: Number of casualties, 77, of which 63 were American vessels, 11 British, 1 German, 1 Russian, and one unknown. Of this number there were 12 steamers, 3 ships, 7 brigs, 2 barks, 49 schooners, 2 sloops, and 2 canal boats. The casualties are described as follows: Stranded, 38; found-

dered, 13; by collision, 6; other causes, 20. The total estimated loss in vessels was \$695,898; in cargoes, \$566,773; number of lives lost, 21. The Department has also prepared as complete a list as possible of the casualties on the great lakes of this country within the last ten years, from which it appears that in that period the number of vessels lost was 4,527; the loss of life amounted to 1,341 persons, and the loss of property aggregated \$27,370,062.

ICELAND has at last obtained from Denmark a recognition of its independence of the Danish Diet. The struggle for this result, although not of a war-like character, has been carried on through most of the present century. On the 1st of August next the Icelanders will celebrate the thousandth anniversary of their national existence. The popular Assembly, or Althing, which after 900 years existence was abolished by the Danes in 1800, will be again organized by the people.

ON the 10th of April the New York *Tribune* celebrated its thirty-fourth birthday.

SIR LAMBTON LORAINÉ, who, as commander of the British man-of-war *Niobe*, won for himself the love of our countrymen by his manly protest against the cruelties of Burriel at Santiago de Cuba, met with a warm reception on his recent visit to this country. Wherever he appeared he was welcomed with loud cheers and earnest greetings. He has carried home to England an affectionate regard from his friends and admirers in this country. There is no doubt that Captain Lorainé would have prevented the execution of the unfortunate Virginian prisoners had he arrived in the harbor in time.

THE renomination of Governor Dix is talked of among the leading Republicans of New York.

EX-GOVERNOR COBURN of Maine recently presented \$50,000 to the Waterville Classical School for the purpose of making it an efficient preparatory school for Colby University.

PENNSYLVANIA IN ITS INDUSTRIAL ASPECT.

The old Keystone State took a prominent part in the struggle for independence and national organization and development. And now, upon the verge of the first centennial year in our national history that honored Commonwealth ranks among the foremost of the States in intelligence, industrial attainments, and wealth. It is true that the resources of Pennsylvania are not surpassed in variety and importance by those of any other State in the Union; but without enterprise and industry these will not contribute to the prosperity and happiness of the communities living in the midst of undeveloped treasures. Practical intelligence and the hand of industry to grasp and unfold and utilize Nature's bounties constitute the means by which Pennsylvania has been made wealthy and influential. These facts will be more fully demonstrated as we proceed in unfolding her vast variety and diversity of industrial employments, and in noting the rapid development of many of the more prominent sources of wealth within the old Commonwealth.

EARLY HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Great Britain claimed what is now Pennsylvania as being included in her discoveries along the Atlantic coast, but it is generally conceded by historians that the first explorations of the country were made under the auspices of the Dutch East India Company. Delaware bay was visited by Lord Delaware, the Governor of the Colony of Virginia, in 1610. The *Ruthless*, a Dutch vessel, in 1624, ascended to the present site of Philadelphia, and organized a temporary military government, subordinate to the government at New Amsterdam, now New York. The English ambassador at The Hague protested, but the Dutch continued to erect forts and trading posts for the purpose of traffic with the Indians, but without reference to the cultivation of the soil or permanent settlement.

In 1626 the Swedish monarch, Gustavus

Adolphus, made arrangements for permanent colonization on the Delaware on a liberal scale, but he was killed in the battle of Leutzen, and left his proclamation for colonization unsigned. Twelve years later the scheme was put in operation on a less magnificent scale than the Swedish monarch had contemplated, and the west bank of the Delaware was occupied by a Swedish population forty years before the royal charter to William Penn, and their treatment of and intercourse with the Indians was in all respects in the same pacific spirit as that pursued afterward by the founder of Pennsylvania. The Swedish colony was broken up by the Dutch in 1655, after seventeen years occupation of the country; and nine years later, in 1664, the Dutch in turn were compelled to surrender to the English Crown.

Seventeen years later Charles II, in liquidation of a debt of £16,000 due the estate of Admiral Penn, conveyed to the Admiral's son, William, the Province of Pennsylvania, the King at the same time giving it the name, in honor of the Admiral, and against the consent of the son, then known only as a Quaker preacher.

William Penn made two visits of about two years each to his estates in America, and was then the actual Governor of the Province, and intended to make America his future home. Subsequent events defeated him in his purpose, and the only alternative left was to enjoin his relatives, in his will, to come over and settle in America.

Penn died thirty-seven years after receiving his title to his grant from the King. In the mean time that monarch died, and the Duke of York succeeded to the crown. Penn's intimacy with that subsequently deposed monarch nearly cost him the loss of his American province, for the zealous Protestantism of the age thought it saw in his devoted attachment to the deposed Roman Catholic monarch disloyalty to William and

Mary and the Protestant succession. His province was seized by the Crown, and was not restored until after two years' vindication of his loyalty.

The expenses attending this contest, together with the cost of administration in America, were £30,000, as he said, beyond what he ever received in return. Stricken with apoplexy, which ultimately proved fatal, and in a despondent mood, he contracted to convey to the Crown for £12,000 the province for which thirty-one years before he had paid £16,000. The sovereign refused to enforce the contract against the widow and heirs. Subsequently the Pennsylvania Legislature granted the heirs £130,000, or about \$650,000, and allowed them to retain their manors, forty-four in number, in consideration of the relinquishment of their proprietary rights. In addition, the British Parliament granted the Penn heirs an annuity of £4,000, which is regularly paid up to the present time.

Penn, by his will, vested all his proprietary rights in his wife, Hannah, and she was Governor of the province *de jure* for eight years. Residing abroad, she administered through her resident deputy, Governor Keith. She looked sharply after her interests, and her orders were peremptory, as her letters fully indicate.

A serious controversy as to the boundaries of the province occurred with Lord Baltimore, involving an entire degree or latitude. The question was: Should the southern line begin at the commencement or the end of the 40th degree of north latitude? Lord Baltimore's claim would have taken Philadelphia and the southern counties of the State, while Penn's claim included Baltimore and half of Maryland, as belonging to Pennsylvania. A compromise made the division on what was afterward known as the famous Mason and Dixon's line, for many years the boundary between the slave and the free States.

At a later period Virginia claimed a large portion of western Pennsylvania, including the present site of Pittsburg.

This claim was settled after the Revolution by the extension of Mason and Dixon's line as the southern boundary of Pennsylvania. Next Connecticut claimed about one-third of the State, and blood was shed in the Valley of Wyoming in defense of these conflicting claims, which were finally adjusted in favor of Pennsylvania.

POPULATION ESTIMATED.

No accurate census of the province was ever taken. At the date of the Penn charter the population was about 2,500, principally Swedes. At the death of Penn, thirty-seven years later, the population was about 100,000; and at the Declaration of Independence about 325,000.

POPULATION—BY CENSUS.

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Population.</i>
1790.....	434,373
1800.....	602,365
1810.....	810,091
1820.....	1,047,507
1830.....	1,348,233
1840.....	1,724,033
1850.....	2,311,786
1860.....	2,906,215
1870.....	3,521,951

This shows a steady increase of population equal to many of the newer States, and nearly double the average increase of the whole Union. It is accounted for in the vast diversity of employments offered to industry in the agricultural, mineral, and manufacturing resources of the State, each of which will now be considered separately.

FARMS AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS.

The State is divided into sixty-six counties, and while the broad interior valleys are unsurpassed for productiveness, the entire State is adapted for agricultural purposes, though much of it is unbroken. The farms under cultivation may be classified as follows, according to size, taking the census of 1870 as our guide:

<i>Farms.</i>	
Under three acres.....	264
Three to ten acres.....	10,028
Ten to twenty acres.....	15,915
Twenty to fifty acres.....	48,151
Fifty to one hundred acres.....	61,268

One hundred to five hundred acres.....	38,273
Five hundred to one thousand acres.....	76
One thousand acres and over.....	76

Total number of farms, 1870...	174,041
Total number of farms, 1860...	156,357
Total number of farms, 1850...	127,577

The total number of acres in farms in 1870 was 17,994,200, of which 11,515,965 were improved. The average size of farms in 1850 was 117 acres; in 1860 it was 109 acres; and in 1870 the average farm was 103 acres, showing conclusively that the tendency is not to monopoly, but rather in the opposite direction. Allowing six persons to each farmer's family, a fair estimate in a rural population, those 174,041 farms under cultivation in the State in 1870 give employment to over a million of the population, and the product, according to statistical returns, constitutes over twenty-five (25.48) per cent. of the entire industries of the State. This, in view of her other great sources of wealth in minerals, oil, and manufactures is significantly demonstrative of a capacity for an immense self-sustaining population. Without going into details, of which space will not admit, her agricultural rank may be established by showing the relative product in 1870 of a few of the leading wheat-growing States of the Union. These are :

	<i>Bushels.</i>
1. Illinois.....	30,028,405
2. Iowa.....	29,435,692
3. Ohio.....	27,882,159
4. Indiana.....	27,747,222
5. Wisconsin.....	25,606,334
6. Pennsylvania.....	19,672,967
7. Minnesota.....	18,866,073
8. Michigan.....	16,265,773
9. New York.....	12,178,462

Thus it will be seen that as a great grain-growing State Pennsylvania ranks six in the list, Illinois taking the lead and New York making the ninth in the order. Pennsylvania not only provides her own manufactures in almost every branch of that class of industries, but she furnishes nearly one-half of the present iron product of the Union, three-fourths of the coal product, feeds her

entire population from the product of her own agricultural industries, and exports annually to foreign countries from the port of Philadelphia alone products to the value of \$30,000,000, among which are included breadstuffs to the value of five and a half million dollars, and nearly one and a quarter million dollars worth of provisions.

THE COAL FIELDS AND COAL INDUSTRIES OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The State yields anthracite, semi-bituminous, and bituminous coal. Twenty-five counties out of the sixty-six contain no coal whatever, so far as is yet known. Prof. Rogers' "Geological Report" in three volumes, and MacFarlane's "Coal Regions of America," afford the following information in reference to the distribution of the coal fields over the State. The counties without coal are all in the southeastern part of the State, except Erie, in the northwestern corner. The anthracite or hard coal is principally in the four counties of Dauphin, Schuylkill, Carbon, and Luzerne, with smaller quantities on the borders of the basins in Northumberland and Columbia counties, and a semi-anthracite coal in Sullivan and Wyoming counties.

Six counties, Bradford, Lycoming, Tioga, Huntingdon, Bedford, and Fulton, contain detached fields of semi-bituminous coal.

The following twenty-seven counties in the western and northwestern part of the State contain bituminous coal—a portion of which along the eastern margin of the field is semi-bituminous, viz : Somerset, Fayette, Green, Washington, Westmoreland, Cambria, Indiana, Armstrong, Allegheny, Beaver, Lawrence, Butler, Clarion, Jefferson, Clearfield, Blair, Centre, Clinton, Cameron, Elk, Forest, Venango, Mercer, Crawford, Warren, McKean, and Potter.

Altogether there are forty-one coal producing counties in the State. The total area of coal fields is 12,774 square miles.

Total production 1871, 24,000,000 tons.
Total production 1872, 29,139,240 tons.

The following figures will afford some idea of the extent of this industry. The returns are for the year 1870 :

1870.	Anthracite Mines.	Bituminous Mines.
Establishments	229	359
Engines	829	69
Horse power.....	48,809	1,851
Water wheels.....	7	—
Horse power.....	331	—
Men above ground...	13,884	3 481
Men under ground...	39,009	13,036
Boys above ground..	5,500	29
Boys under ground..	3,578	305
Capital, dollars.....	50,966,375	16,974,918
Wages, dollars.....	22 982,813	8,995,495
Materials, dollars....	3,596,440	604,691
Products, tons.....	15,650,275	7,798,518
Products, dollars....	38,436,745	13,921,069

The total product of the United States for 1870 was 15,664,275 tons anthracite, and 17,199,415 tons bituminous coal, and this gave Pennsylvania 1,414,897 tons more than one-half of the entire product, with a development more rapid now than at any time in the previous history of the coal industries of the State.

THE IRON PRODUCT OF PENNSYLVANIA.

It is only within recent years that the iron product of the United States has become large or its manufacture an important industry. The development of this important branch has now placed American iron in competition with that of the world.

The production of iron in the United States gives employment to 940,000 persons ; allowing each of these to represent a family of only three individuals, it gives an aggregate of 2,820,000 who draw their support from this industry alone. The Pennsylvania "First Annual Report of the State Bureau of Statistics, for 1872-'3," an excellent and reliable collection of industrial statistics, says that of these 940,000 operators 40,000 are employed in preparing ore and fuel ; 25,000 in working out fuel for rolling mills ;

32,500 in blast furnaces ; 3,500 in bloomeries ; and 800,000 in the other and various departments of iron manufacture. The value of pig iron wrought in 1872 was \$75,000,000. The forges and rolling-mills produced \$63,000,000 ; and the entire value of manufactured iron for the year was \$900,000,000, or nearly \$1,000 to each person employed.—Pa. *Bureau of Statistics* 1872-'3, page 223.

The same publication says it was predicted that the American iron trade would manufacture a ton of iron for every bale of cotton produced in the Republic. In 1872 we made 2,300,000 tons of pig and 400,000 tons of other iron—total, 2,700,000 tons—equal to the number of bales in a short crop of cotton. In 1873 the iron product was about equal to a full crop, and at the present rate of increase the year 1880 will give 5,000,000 tons, and so distance the cotton yield. These facts and estimates lead to the question, shall America become the grand iron producer and exporter of the world ? Will the nations look to us for iron, and iron ships, as they now look to us for cotton ? These things are possible to American enterprise and genius. Here is the native ore, with coal by its side ; and here are the miners and the mills. Here are the railways to transport the raw iron to market and the sea-board ; the countless industries to utilize it, and the capital for all parts of the work.

The part that Pennsylvania plays and is destined to play in the development of this iron business may be inferred from the fact that nearly one-half of the production and expenditures are embraced within the limits of that great State. Her iron manufacturers, and her citizens generally, may well feel elated at the brilliant future that awaits them, for iron truly is the artificer of our national greatness.

The total product of pig iron in the United States in 1872 was 2,388,260 tons, of which Pennsylvania furnished nearly one-half, or 1,189,075 tons. The ninth United States census and the statistical report of the National Association of

Iron Manufacturers enable us to present the following statistics of the iron product and manufacture in Pennsylvania in comparison with the total product and manufacture of the United States :

Large Iron Producing and Manufacturing Establishments.

Establishments, 1870.	In Penn.	In U. S.
Iron, pig.....	136	386
Iron, cast.....	524	2,654
Iron, forged and rolled.....	135	396
Iron, rolled.....	120	310
Iron, forged.....	19	104
Iron, nails and spikes.....	31	142
Iron railing, wrought.....	12	74
Iron pipe, wrought.....	8	22
Iron, anchors and cables....	4	18
Iron, bolts, nuts, washers, and rivets.....	29	93
Nails and tacks.....	27	119
Steel.....	18	30
Iron, blooms.....	43	82

A statistical table in *The American Manufacturer*, compiled by the editor, Joseph D. Weeks, enumerates two hundred and seventy-six blast furnaces distributed over the iron and coal counties of the State, and gives the location of each, names of furnace, owner or lessee, post office address, fuel, ores, and production of iron in 1872. These, together with a dozen or more new furnaces then in the course of construction, reported by James M. Swank, secretary of the American Iron and Steel Association, will afford the reader some idea of the facilities of the State for converting and utilizing its ores.

MANUFACTURE OF RAILWAY RAILS.

The total number of tons of rails made in the United States in 1872, as reported to the officers of the American Iron and Steel Association by the makers, is 941,992, or 841,064 gross tons. This aggregate was produced in the following States, the yield of each of which in 1872 is given in comparison with the production in 1871 :

States.	1872.	1871.
Pennsylvania	419,529	335,604
Ohio.....	121,923	75,782
Illinois.....	106,916	91,178
New York	82,457	87,022
Wisconsin	37,284	28,774
Massachusetts.....	29,242	28,864
Maryland.....	26,472	44,941
Indiana.....	23,893	12,778
West Virginia.....	20,100	5,050
Missouri	15,500	8,200
Tennessee	14,620	9,667
Maine.....	14,058	13,383
Michigan.....	9,883	14,000
New Jersey.....	5,185	6,700
Georgia.....	1,930	7,480
Kentucky.....	4,000	6,000
Total.....	941,992	775,733

This aggregate excludes 15,000 tons of street rails and all mining rails made during the year, and includes only those made for passenger and freight railways. The result shows that Pennsylvania furnishes nearly one-half, or 44½ per cent., of the entire product. The increase of 1872 over 1871 was 166,259, or 21½ per cent.

The importation of foreign rails in 1871 was 566,202 net tons, in 1872 it was 530,850 ; decrease, 35,352 tons, or 6½ per cent. Here the advantages to the American rail maker of a protective tariff are significantly demonstrated in the increase of the American and decrease of the foreign supply. Another important fact is that the constantly increasing consumption of rails in the United States is more than equaled by the increase of the American product. The total consumption of iron and steel rails in 1871 was 1,341,935 net tons, in 1872 it was 1,472,842 tons ; increase, 130,907 tons, while the increase of the American production was 166,259 tons.

To show the esteem in which American heavy manufactures are held by

foreign nations, the subjoined extract is presented: "At a semi-annual meeting of the Grand Trunk Railway Company held in London May 1, 1873, the president said the company had contracted for three hundred new engines in the United States, as substitutes for their old broad gauge stock," and added: "The Americans make them now much cheaper than we can buy them here, and there have been many mechanical improvements in their mode of constructing engines. I do not hesitate to say that three hundred engines of the present type, made by the best manufacturers in America, and coal burning, are worth four hundred and fifty of our old engines, wood burning." So much for American skill and industry. And it will not be long until Pennsylvania, in like manner, will be supplying orders from across the Atlantic for steamships, on the same principle that they are cheaper and more profitable than those built elsewhere. It is only a matter of time, and a quite limited interim at that.

GENERAL MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES OF THE STATE.

Omitting details the following statement shows the extent of Pennsylvania's manufacturing interests, the productions of which constitute 34.90 per cent. or over one-third of the industries of the State, as shown by the latest census returns:

Number of manufacturing establishments	37,200
Number of steam engines....	6,230
Horse power.....	221,936
Number of water wheels.....	7,603
Horse power.....	141,982
Males over 16 employed.....	256,543
Females over 16 employed...	47,712
Youths under 16 employed...	19,232
Total hands employed.....	319,487
Capital invested.....	\$406,821,845
Wages paid	\$127,976,594
Materials used.....	\$421,197,673
Products, value.....	\$711,894,234

The statistics of mining and quarrying are not included in the above figures. But even with this omission of industries so largely followed in Pennsylvania no other State in the Union, not even

Massachusetts or New York, returns so large a number of manufacturing establishments or so large an amount of capital invested, and only one State in the entire Union shows an excess over Pennsylvania in the number of hands employed, wages paid, material consumed, and goods produced—that is New York, and the difference in favor of that State is very small. In all other respects the old Keystone commonwealth is ahead of all competition, and with the mining and quarrying products included, as they were in each census up to 1870, Pennsylvania would outstrip all State competition in the extent of her manufactures and their products.

PETROLEUM.

The discovery and utilization of petroleum or mineral oil dates but a few years back. It is said that the Indians as far back as the middle of the 18th century were accustomed to collect this oil from surface deposits for medicinal purposes. Prof. Silliman was the first to determine its peculiar qualities and practical value. This led to its collection at Oil creek, in Pennsylvania, but this was a profitless process and boring was suggested. A well was sunk at Titusville, Pa., and in August, 1859, oil was struck at a depth of 69½ feet, and a yield obtained of 25 barrels a day. Other wells followed, and at the close of 1861 the yield was from 6,000 to 7,000 barrels per diem. The business was still further developed at a rapid rate; cities rose in the Pennsylvania forests; fortunes were made in a day; commercial enterprise was stimulated and Pennsylvania petroleum found a ready and profitable market in every part of the civilized world. The oil districts of the State are confined mainly to Butler, Clarion, and Venango counties. Oil is also found in limited quantities near Parkersburg, West Virginia, and in parts of Ohio near that vicinity.

There are now, or were in 1873, about 4,000 productive wells in Pennsylvania, with an average daily production of eight and a half barrels, the largest yielding about 1,200 barrels.

THE PETROLEUM PRODUCT OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Year.	Total bbls.
1867, (four months only).....	39,500
1868.....	3,583,176
1869.....	4,210,720
1870.....	5,673,195
1871.....	5,715,900
1872.....	6,531,675
1873.....	7,878,629

After being refined and rebarreled (41 gallons to the barrel) the oil becomes an important article of home and foreign commerce. The following are the exports from Philadelphia, and also the total export from the United States from 1866 to 1873, inclusive :

Year.	From Philadelphia.	From United States.
1866.....	686,030	1,643,618
1867.....	684,080	1,635,415
1868.....	919,297	2,407,254
1869.....	760,039	2,499,056
1870.....	1,100,851	3,430,325
1871.....	1,238,061	3,817,432
1872.....	1,314,439	3,720,855
1873.....	1,915,429	5,742,602

Nature has been peculiarly lavish in bestowing her treasures upon the Keystone State ; for while she was in the high road of prosperity, resulting from the development of the inexhaustible sources of wealth above and beneath her soil, here just at the time alcohol and its products became too expensive for illuminating purposes, these subterraneous oil rivers and reservoirs commenced belching millions of barrels of illuminating oil from the hidden caverns of the earth, the demand for which comes from distant parts of the globe, and returns millions of dollars annually to increase the wealth of the State. The census of 1870 shows the value of the Pennsylvania petroleum yield for that year to be \$18,045,967, a very considerable item in the aggregate products of the rich old commonwealth.

MINOR MINERAL PRODUCTS OF THE STATE.

In addition to the great coal, iron, and

petroleum fields of Pennsylvania, there are within the State valuable deposits of copper, marble, nickel, slate, stone, and zink, the value of the products of each of which in 1870 were as follows :

	Value of product.
Copper.....	\$7,800
Marble.....	101,000
Nickel.....	24,000
Slate.....	618,229
Stone.....	873,879
Zink.....	235,555

Total..... 1,860,463

AGGREGATE WEALTH OF THE STATE.

Statistics must of necessity, in most cases, be imperfect. Especially in making up the different elements included in the aggregate of State or national wealth it is next to impossible to obtain the exact figures. Hon. T. J. Bigham, Commissioner of the Pennsylvania Bureau of Statistics, has compiled a series of tables for 1872, in which the different sources of wealth are classified and arranged in six groups, each of which is, no doubt, as nearly correct as is possible to make them. The result is as follows :

1. Real and personal property.	\$3,475,831,851 00
2. Banks and building associations.....	433,250,801 66
3. Railroads and telegraph and canal companies.....	393,913,734 60
4. Corporations, &c., not included in above.....	1,519,128,870 60
5. Manufacturers of all kinds, &c.....	522,078,349 00
6. Coal and oil.....	129,710,855 00
Total.....	6,473,914,461 86

This immense wealth is not exceeded by any State in the Union, New York excepted. The census of 1870 reports the total wealth of all the States and Territories to be \$30,068,518,507, and if the above figures for Pennsylvania, made up two years later, are correct, then the *Keystone State embraces one-fifth of the entire wealth of the nation.* It seems scarcely possible, yet the figures are from official sources, and must be accepted as correct until errors are discovered in the tables.

But Pennsylvania's unbounded wealth lies under her soil, and is not taken into the above estimation. With coal under-

lying two-thirds of her sixty-six counties; with iron ore cropping out on her hill-sides in nearly every county in the State, and in many cases side by side with the coal-beds; with rail, river, and canal facilities for transportation; with sea-boards north and south—the Atlantic in front and in the rear the chain of great lakes; with unlimited capital always at command, and with the usual energy of her people, the honored old State may justly anticipate a brilliant future.

Her area of 46,000 square miles is more than four times the size of Belgium. With a population per mile equal to that country the State would number over

twenty and a quarter million inhabitants, equal to half the present population of the United States. At the past and present rate of increase that will be the number of her inhabitants ere the second centennial Fourth of July comes round. There will be room for all these and more, within her borders, with inviting fields for enterprise and avenues to prosperity for the hand of industry.

In their great material prosperity may her sons and daughters continue to emulate the virtues of the Founder of Pennsylvania, and thus transmit to the community of sister States, by example, the priceless principles of honor, integrity, and Christianity.

THE PATENT OFFICE.

The modern system of granting letters patent for useful inventions took its origin in the English Statute of Monopolies in 1624—(21 James the First.) The disgraceful manner in which the English sovereigns had been accustomed to grant letters patent to court favorites for the monopoly of not only well known manufactures, but also of articles of prime necessity for consumption, roused the English Parliament to pass the Statute of Monopolies, which abolished the whole system of granting letters patent for the monopoly of articles in common use. A clause in this statute, however, made the exception that letters patent might be granted by the crown for "the sole working or making of any manner of new manufactures, within this realm, to the first and true inventor or inventors of such manufactures, which others at the time of the making of such letters patent and grant did not use, so that they be not contrary to the law, nor mischievous to the state." Out of this clause has grown the modern patent system. When the Constitution of the United States was formed, it provided that Congress shall have power "to promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive

right to their respective writings and discoveries." In pursuance of this power thus delegated by the States to the Congress, an act was passed "to promote the progress of useful arts" on April 10, 1790. This act provided for protection by letters patent of the invention or discovery of "any useful art, manufacture, engine, machine, or device, or any improvement therein not before known or used." Subsequently several acts were passed amendatory of the act of 1790, but no material change in the patent law was made till 1836, when the patent law of the United States was fundamentally changed. With a slight change of the wording of the law of 1790 regarding the subject matter of patents, it was re-enacted in 1836, and also in the law of 1870. The law touching the subject of patents now reads as follows:

"Any person who has invented or discovered *any new and useful art, machine, manufacture or composition of matter, or any new and useful improvement thereof*, not known or used by others in this country, and not patented or described in any printed publication in this or any foreign country, before his invention or discovery thereof, and not in public use or on sale for more than two years prior to his application, unless the same is proved to have been abandoned, may,

upon payment of the duty required by law and other due proceedings had, obtain a patent therefor."—*Sec. 24. Act of July 8, 1870.*

By the law of 1870 all previous acts were abolished, and that act now embraces the entire law in force regarding protection by letters patent, trade marks, and copyrights. Patents and trade marks are placed under the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Patents. Copyrights are placed in charge of the Librarian of the National Library of the United States, in the Capitol at Washington. A pamphlet of seventy pages, explaining in a popular manner the whole internal administration of the Patent Office, the law in force, and the rules of the office, copies of forms, &c., is sent free to any one writing for it to the Commissioner of Patents at Washington.

The act of March 3, 1837, required an annual report from the Commissioner, accompanied by an annual list of patents granted and expired. Commissioner Ellsworth made the first report. These reports were made till 1840, inclusive, and published as an appendix to the President's message. Reports for 1841 and 1842 were published in a separate form, having become too large to accompany the President's message. The list of claims first appeared in the report for 1843—since which date they have been annually published. Prior to 1849 the Mechanical and Agricultural Department reports appeared in one volume. Since that period the reports for these two departments have been published in separate volumes. The Patent Office report for 1853 was the first to publish illustrations of patents. In 1847 the Commissioner published in one volume a complete list of all patents issued from 1790 to that date.

July 1, 1869, the publication of the Patent Office reports—which had been gratuitously distributed for so many years—was discontinued by act of Congress. Fifty-four volumes of these reports have been published up to that date. Some of the earliest of these

reports are now very rare, and have been sold as high as fifteen dollars per volume. All information regarding patents which is now obtained from the Patent Office must be paid for.

The whole range of the subjects coming under the jurisdiction of the Patent Office has been divided into one hundred and forty-five classes, which have been subdivided among the twenty-one (21) examiners of the office. Each examiner has three assistant examiners and one clerk (generally a lady.) One lady has been appointed an assistant examiner, and is said to perform the duties of her position as well as the average of men.

For seven years past the average annual number of applications for patents has been about twenty thousand, more than one-third of which have been rejected. This comparatively large number of rejected applications for patents makes apparent to inventors the necessity of securing the services of competent and skillful attorneys to do their business before the Patent Office. But it is not improbable that some of these applicants had no merits on which to base their claims.

The Patent Office *Gazette* is a weekly publication containing the current decisions of all the United States courts in cases involving the subject of patents, and a list of patents and their claims as issued. Members of Congress each are allowed eight copies of the *Gazette* to send to some public library in their respective districts or States. The *Gazette* was first published on January 1, 1872.

It is the design of the Patent Office to deposit current patents in all parts of the United States where they may be most accessible to inventors and others interested in the subject of patents, and to this end volumes of patents, containing the specifications and drawings of patents in full from May 30, 1871, to within a few months of date, may be consulted at the following places :

Astor Library, New York city; American Society Civil Engineers, New York city; Bronson Library, Waterbury, Ct.; Court of Appeals, Syracuse, N. Y.;

Cooper Union Library, New York city; Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.; City Library Association, Springfield, Mass.

And at the United States District Courts of Alexandria, Va.; Atlanta, Ga.; Brooklyn, N. Y.; Buffalo, N. Y.; Baltimore, Md.; Boston, Mass.; Burlington, Vt.; Cincinnati, Ohio; Cleveland, Ohio; Chicago, Ill.; Charleston, S. C.; Detroit, Mich.; Erie, Pa.; Fort Smith, Ark.; Grand Rapids, Mich.; Huntsville, Ala.; Jacksonville, Fla.; Key West, Fla.; Leavenworth, Kan.; Louisville, Ky.; Lynchburg, Va.; Mobile, Ala.; Milwaukee, Wis.; New York city; New Haven, Ct.; New Albany, Ind.; New Orleans, La.; Ottumwa, Iowa; Omaha, Neb.; Pittsburgh, Pa.; Portland, Me.; Portland, Oregon; Philadelphia, Pa.; Parkersburg, W. Va.; St. Louis, Mo.; San Francisco, Cal.; Wilmington, Del.

At the Davenport, N., Law Library, Troy, N. Y.; Free Public Library, Worcester, Mass.; Free Public Library, Boston, Mass.; Franklin Institute Library, Philadelphia, Pa.; Free Public Library, New Bedford, Mass.; Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, N. Y.; Illinois Industrial University, Champaign, Ill.; Mercantile Library, New York city; Mercantile Library, Galveston, Texas; Mechanics' Institute, San Francisco, Cal.; Mercantile Library, Philadelphia, Pa.; New Britain Institute, New Britain, Ct.; Odd Fellows' Library, San Francisco, Cal.; Ohio Mechanics' Institute, Cincinnati, Ohio; Peabody Institute, Baltimore, Md.; Public Library, Cincinnati, Ohio; Public Library, Chicago, Ill.; Public Li-

brary, Indianapolis, Ind.; Public Library, Lawrence, Mass.; Public Library, Lynn, Mass.; Public School Library, St. Louis, Mo.; Stevens Institute of Tech., Hoboken, N. J.; Watertown Library, Watertown, Mass.; Yale College Library, New Haven, Ct.; Y. M. C. A. Library, New York city; Y. M. C. A. Library, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Y. M. C. A. Library, Scranton, Pa.; Y. M. M. L. A., Cincinnati, Ohio.

Also at the following State libraries: Albany, N. Y.; Augusta, Me.; Atlanta, Ga.; Annapolis, Md.; Austin, Texas; Boston, Mass.; Concord, N. H.; Columbus, Ohio; Columbia, S. C.; Carson City, Nev.; Dover, Del.; Des Moines, Iowa; Frankfort, Ky.; Harrisburg, Pa.; Hartford, Ct.; Indianapolis, Ind.; Jackson, Miss.; Jefferson City, Mo.; Lansing, Mich.; Little Rock, Ark.; Lincoln, Neb.; Montgomery, Ala.; Montpelier, Vt.; Nashville, Tenn.; New Orleans, La.; Providence, R. I.; Richmond, Va.; Raleigh, N. C.; Sacramento, Cal.; Salem, Oregon; Springfield, Ill.; Topeka, Kan.; Trenton, N. J.

Also at State Historical Societies of Madison, Wis., and St. Paul, Minn.; and at Territorial libraries of Boise City, Idaho; Cheyenne, Wyoming; Denver, Colorado; Santa Fe, N. Mexico; Tucson, Arizona; Virginia City, Mon.; Yankton, Dakota.

At another time occasion will be taken to write of some matters of general interest concerning our Patent Office.

J. McC. PERKINS.

INTERESTING PARLIAMENTARY QUESTION.

It is seldom that a mere question of order in a parliamentary body is of general interest, but such did occur in the House of Representatives on the currency bill, and we believe it is of sufficient importance to justify a record of the proceeding and decision.

THE POINT OF ORDER.

Mr. SPEER had read the rule which prohibits members from voting on questions in which they had an interest.

Mr. COX said he was interested in national banks, and he proposed to vote to tax them. He was thus voting against his own interest, and wanted to know if, under such circumstances, he came under the rule.

The SPEAKER replied that if the gentleman had conscientious scruples

the House would not compel him to vote. He added that the point of order could not be made against the whole House, but some individual must be specified, and then the SPEAKER would rule on the point.

Mr. BUTLER, of Massachusetts, said he would make the point of order against Mr. Cox if the latter wanted it settled. [Laughter.]

Mr. PACKER offered as a substitute a bill for free banking, and for the retirement of the free bank notes when they exceed four hundred millions of dollars.

The SPEAKER then ruled upon the point of order made by Mr. BURCHARD, and decided the clause referred to out of order, as it changed all the customs duties of the country.

The previous question was then sec-

ended on the amendments by a vote of 94 to 78. The amendments proposed by Messrs. COBURN and HUNTER were rejected by *viva voce* votes.

The question was then taken on Mr. PACKER's proposition, and it was rejected by yeas 77 to nays 149.

IMPORTANT PARLIAMENTARY DECISION.

Before the vote was announced Mr. SPEER said he held in his hand the report of the Comptroller of the Currency, which showed that Mr. POLAND, of Vt., and Mr. HAMILTON, of N. J., were presidents of national banks, and the Congressional Directory showed that Mr. PHELPS, of N. J., was a director in several national banks. He made the point of order that the gentlemen, under the rules, had not a right to vote on this amendment, which proposed to tax national banks, and in which they were personally interested. He desired to say that he named these gentlemen in no personal sense, but as the representatives of a class, and because he had, in their cases, authentic evidence.

Mr. BUTLER, of Mass., said this was a point of order of a good deal of consequence, and he desired to be heard upon it, and argued that the number to whom the rule applied did not change its operation any more than if but two or three were interested.

Mr. E. R. HOAR asked how this proposition differed from a proposition to tax gold watches and silver plate.

Mr. DAWES said the rulings had been that if a member belonged to a class he was permitted to vote. A holder of bank stock had no more personal interest in this than a manufacturer had on taxing imported goods.

The SPEAKER said the question went back of the rules, and was somewhat deeper than the rules. When Mr. Macon, of North Carolina, occupied the Speaker's chair, a question arose on a proposed amendment to the Constitution changing the mode of counting the votes for President and Vice President. The rule of the House was peremptory that the Speaker should not vote except in case of a tie. The vote on the proposed amendment was 83 to 42. The Speaker voted in the affirmative, thus making the necessary two-thirds, and through that vote the amendment became incorporated in the Constitution. He gave the vote on the ground that the House had no right to make a rule abridging the right of a member to vote. He voted on his conscience and his responsibility as a Representative.

If the House should say that one hun-

dred and forty-five members who came here owning one share of national bank stock each could not vote, there could be no legislation on this subject at all. It had always been held that where a member belonged to a general class of citizens he had a right to vote. In the case of a sitting member voting on a matter affecting his own seat there was an obvious impropriety in his voting, as it was an individual interest; but when a man did not stand distinct from a class the uniform ruling of the United States Congress and the British Parliament had permitted them to vote. In 1871, in the British Parliament, on the bill repealing the sale of commissions, there were many officers members of Parliament, and the point of order was made, but not sustained, because they belonged to a class.

Since he had occupied the chair there had been bills granting bounty while they had the honor of having on the floor many officers who had distinguished themselves in the field who shared that bounty, and the question had not been raised that they were interested. The same was true in regard to pensions. So in regard to the tax on incomes. If it was decided they could not vote, then a cotton manufacturer, or certain gentlemen from the South, interested in cotton, could not vote on a question to tax cotton. So it would be in much of the legislation coming before the House. He had no hesitation in refusing to sustain the point of order.

Mr. SPEER said it was customary to hear the argument before deciding the case.

The SPEAKER said he would hear the gentleman.

Mr. SPEER said he did not desire to argue a case after a decision had been given.

APPEAL FROM THE SPEAKER'S DECISION.

Mr. HOLMAN appealed from the decision of the Chair. The yeas and nays were demanded, but only thirteen members rose to second the demand.

The SPEAKER said he desired tellers on this motion, that it might be made a matter of record, and he appointed Mr. HOLMAN, who had made the appeal, and Mr. PARSONS, who had moved to lay the appeal on the table, as tellers. One hundred and ninety-three members voted to table the appeal, and nine in the negative.

WORK has been suspended on the East River suspension bridge. Rascality is charged in the use of the money appropriated for the enterprise.

THE NEW FINANCE BILL.

The following is the text of the new finance bill, as passed by the Senate, to fix the amount of United States notes, and of the circulation of national banks, and for other purposes :

Be it enacted, &c., That the maximum amount of United States notes is hereby fixed at four hundred million dollars.

SEC. 2. That forty-six millions in notes for circulation, in addition to such circulation now allowed by law, shall be issued to national banking associations now organized and which may be organized hereafter ; and such increased circulation shall be distributed among the several States as provided in section one of the act entitled "An act to provide for the redemption of the three-per-centum temporary-loan certificates, and for an increase of national bank notes," approved July twelfth, eighteen hundred and seventy ; and each national banking association, now organized or hereafter to be organized, shall keep and maintain, as a part of its reserve required by law, one-fourth part of the coin received by it as interest on bonds of the United States deposited as security for circulating notes or Government deposits, and that hereafter only one-fourth of the reserve now prescribed by law for national banking associations shall consist of balances due to an association available for the redemption of its circulating notes from associations in cities of redemption, and upon which balances no interest shall be paid.

It is not known yet whether this measure will be concurred in by the House of Representatives, but it is more than probable that no measure providing for a less amount of currency than is here authorized can receive the sanction of Congress. It may, therefore, be assumed that \$400,000,000 of Treasury notes and \$400,000,000 of national bank notes will constitute the *authorized* amount of currency for the future, at least until Congress shall again change the law, which is not likely to be done at this session.

As this bill is assailed as a measure of inflation, it will be well to inquire as to the probable amount of inflation for which it provides.

First. It fixes the maximum amount of Treasury notes at \$400,000,000. Just what it was before—no more and no less,

and there is no provision requiring the Secretary to issue the \$18,000,000 now in hand, nor is there any probability that he will issue any part of it except in an emergency and to meet deficiencies in the revenue, which are not likely to occur. Where then, is the inflation in this branch of the bill?

Second. The second section, authorizing the increase of the national bank circulation to the amount of \$46,000,000, confines the establishment of such banks to States having less than their proportion of such circulation, and requires all national banks to hold for the redemption of their notes one-fourth of the coin interest received upon their bonds. On the supposition that the whole four hundred millions of bank circulation will be issued, then the accumulation of gold for redemption of circulation would amount to \$5,000,000 per year, one-eighth of the whole increase allowed.

Third. Those best qualified to judge do not hesitate to express the opinion that not more than \$15,000,000 of additional bank circulation will, under this bill, be called for during the next twelve months—a sum hardly in proportion to the growth of the country in population and wealth ; and, if this estimate shall be found correct, then the accumulation of gold for redemption will amount to one-fourth the value of the increased circulation. Now let any candid mind point out the great danger to the country, in view of these facts, which is likely to follow the adoption of the measure in the form that it passed the Senate.

ACCORDING to official returns, the Democratic majority for Governor of Connecticut is 1,809. Governor Ingersoll's (Dem.) plurality over Harrison (Rep.) is 6,994, and his majority over Harrison and Smith (Temp.) is 2,034. Increase in Democratic vote over that of 1873, 1,696 ; in the Republican vote, 516.

THE FINANCES.

The vital question of the day is the public finances—it absorbs all others—and very justly deserves, as it is receiving, the calm consideration of American statesmen. The proper remedy for existing evils challenges the highest intellectual endowments, totally exempt from the bias of sectional interests, and alike free from the influence of individual or associated wealth. The public good and the public credit should be the foundation of the structure that will secure a healthy commerce and a solid prosperity. The Republican party owe it to the country that the policy by which they have brought this great country and its more powerful people to the highest pinnacle of national greatness, in the enjoyment of a stable freedom from the usual encroachments upon their rights which so often afflict other people under different forms of government, in the blessings of liberty of speech and action, restrained only by the execution of wholesome laws operating to secure public tranquillity and the great right of enjoyment in the manifold privileges which attach alone to a government founded upon the sovereignty of the people, should take no step backward. What has been accomplished should not only be preserved, but perfected.

It seems that the remedies prepared by their respective advocates, are an expansion of the paper currency by the one, and a resumption of specie payments by the other. Will either reach the disease with which the great commercial, agricultural, and manufacturing interests on the one hand, and the credit of the Government on the other, are threatened? Both classes agree that the resumption of specie payments—in other words, the business operations of the country on a specie basis, with a convertible currency, is the surest way to a solid prosperity, and the safest escape from commercial embarrassment and derangement of the public credit. The Government has no power to di-

rectly relieve individual distress or provide for the damage to trade resulting from individual or incorporated speculations. Its incidental power of relief rests solely in a strict economy in administering the Government, and the protection of its own credit. Keeping these general truths in mind, let us apply the facts. As is well known, the Government receives its revenue in two kinds of values—the one currency, the other gold—bearing to each other different standards. The currency is again divided into a direct liability on the part of the Government, designated as legal tenders; the other a conditional liability known as the circulation of the national banks. So far as the security to the holder, it is not affected by this or that mode of liability, nor is it pertinent to the question under discussion. Keep constantly in mind that both classes desire to reach the same end, a solid specie basis. The Government has, or will be authorized to have, in circulation \$400,000,000 in legal-tender notes. It is liable also for the redemption of the national bank currency to the amount of \$350,332,884, besides fractional currency amounting to \$47,876,149. The addition of these immense sums will satisfy the most hopeful that neither the Government nor the country has the ability to assume the responsibility, at present, of their redemption. If not able now to redeem, will an increased liability, by the expansion in legal tenders or bank bills, improve the condition? The gold in the country is diminishing every year by the balance in our foreign trade being against the United States. The facts of themselves require no argument to convince even the most sanguine that the road to the universal desideratum, the resumption of specie payments, does not lie in the direction of expansion, or, in other words, assuming an increased liability. If the expansionist is sincere in his desire to see the country restored to that healthy condition which prevailed prior to the accumulation

of the stupendous debt, even in the distant future, his policy will never reach it, and consequently his desire will never be gratified. No man or government ever did or ever will extinguish their moneyed obligations by increasing their indebtedness. I think it will be seen, with very little assistance from reflection, by the collection and statement of these figures and facts, that resumption, even in the future, will not and can not be ever reached by expansion of the currency and the consequent increase of the Government's liabilities.

The next question is, will an immediate resumption of specie payments, either by a direct declaration to that effect or the authorization of the right to vest legal-tender notes in interest-paying bonds, give the desired relief? The first is impossible, as both classes admit. The second only postpones the evil, which will be more difficult to surmount on account of the increased weight of the burden. The Government might permit the funding of \$400,000,000 of legal-tender notes in bonds, bearing five per cent., payable in gold, and have the power under its present revenue from customs to meet the increased interest of \$20,000,000, but what benefit could possibly result to the Government in its future policy to provide for a general resumption? None whatever. The exchange of an indebtedness which is nothing more nor less than the credit of the Government, or the note of the same receivable for every indebtedness to the Government growing out of internal taxation for a bond which is to bear interest. It is true you have extinguished the liability of \$400,000,000 of legal-tender notes, but you have assumed one much more expensive to the Government in interest-bearing bonds to the same amount. Can this process terminate in a general resumption of specie payments at any day in the future that the wisdom of this generation can discern?

What, then, is the remedy? The magnitude of the question causes me to approach it with diffidence, and its discussion by the leading minds and states-

men of the age with a diversity that bears no resemblance to anything else but the irregularity of that great phenomena known as the "falling stars," creates a panic, if not as wide-spread, at least as intense, as the one through which the country is passing, and from which the people are looking to be relieved.

I start with the assumption that the surest and safest way to a general resumption of specie payments is the diminution of the public debt, which immediately presents the question, How is this to be done? Before answering the same it will not be irrelevant to inquire what has been done in that direction. The Secretary of the Treasury, in his report to Congress dated December 1, 1873, says the total reduction of the public debt from March 1, 1869, to November 1, 1873, has been \$383,629,783 39, part of this, I presume, by purchase, and part by obligations falling due, much the larger, however, by the former mode. As it was purchased with coin, or coin converted into currency at a premium, it indicates that that portion of Government's revenue collected in coin was above the wants of the Government in its use in paying the interest on the public debt, or any other obligations which were required to be paid in gold. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1875, the Secretary of the Treasury estimates the receipts from customs at \$180,000,000, and the estimated expenditure for interest on the public debt at \$70,000,000. In all probability, the same policy will be pursued of using a portion of this revenue collected in coin to extinguish the debt, the wisdom of which has been a distinguishing characteristic in President Grant's administration. This \$180,000,000 is collected, not at once, but during the fiscal year. It occurs to me that if Congress by law would empower the Secretary of the Treasury to issue Treasury notes, due twelve months after date in specie, bearing one per cent. interest, exchangeable for the bonds of the Government, either at par, if it can be done, or purchase at the market value of the same, to an amount

not exceeding \$80,000,000, and receivable for custom dues, it would increase confidence in the determination of the Government to pay off gradually and certainly, to the extent of its ability, the obligations which now fetter its power to do what the people desire and the country needs — a resumption of specie payments. The first effect of such a measure would be to create, as it were, that much gold, or a currency performing all the functions of gold, in its receivability for custom dues. No one, I think, will doubt its par value with gold, and we might presume upon it even rating higher than gold, on account of the interest-bearing feature, and hence its availability to purchase the public debt. Even if the debt is purchased at the high rate at which it now rules, it is a great saving to the Government in the future interest that will be saved on whatever amount is purchased. The gradual extinction of the public debt is the paramount consideration in any policy which will continue public confidence in the credit of the Government, as well as increase the facilities essential to the domestic trade of the country. The currency circulation will be less liable to stringency, because the amount used every year to purchase gold to pay custom dues will not be needed for that purpose, at least to the amount of the interest-bearing Treasury notes issued to purchase the public debt. The Government, by this policy, is perfectly secure in its credit; it exchanges an obligation bearing a nominal interest for one of greater magnitude, and redeems the one exchanged by the operation of its revenue exactions within the period of every fiscal year. Besides, its power to reach the point of general resumption is increased every year. Its ability to pay the yearly interest is not endangered, and every interest, agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial, will feel its beneficial influence. It will operate upon the finances of the country as if that much gold were taken annually from the mines, especially in the domestic trade, and I am not prepared to say

it would not partake the benefit even in our foreign trade. The question might be asked if these Treasury interest-bearing notes are not used by the commercial community to pay custom dues, what then? The whole estimated \$180,000,000 will have been paid in coin, which places the Treasury in funds to redeem them when due. If they should be kept in circulation after due, the Government may very easily suspend the policy until there is a move in the direction of their redemption. The human mind is so constituted as often to be wedded to a theory which occults the reason in the ascertainment of truth. I pretend no exemption from the natural infirmity. If, however, I can draw the attention of superior intellects to the subject, so that good may result to the country, I shall be more than compensated, even more than by the personal triumph of my own theory.

This article is already beyond the limit of patience, and necessarily prevents the discussion of the annual wants of the Government in their expenditures of the currency revenue. Individual and more especially Government wants can be regulated by the manner in which they occur. Either can create them to an almost unlimited extent, and both will then find, if exercised too freely, difficulties will surround the balance-sheet. Under the magnitude of our public debt, and the driftings to which we are tending, the watchword in the appropriations should be economy. The developments of the country are greatly in advance of our ability to sustain them, and there should be some pause in the appropriations of the public money for any other purposes than the ordinary expenses, and that required to protect the credit of the nation. If this is done, there will be but little difficulty in making the internal revenue meet all the wants and necessities of the Government, administered under an honest determination to be released from the paralyzing incubus of a debt unmanageable without prudence, and unsustained without dishonor.

GEORGIA.

ANOTHER SUGGESTION—BASING CURRENCY ON WEALTH.

In 1857 the writer of this article first proposed a national currency, and also basing its issue on the wealth of the country at the rate of \$1 in currency to \$30 of the assessed value of real and personal property. In 1862 we submitted this plan to the late Stephen Colwell, of Philadelphia, who had written several works on money and currency, and who had collected in his library up to that time every work that treated on these subjects that had been issued in all the civilized countries of the world, in the different languages, that could be obtained at that time for money. He then took us into his library and stated that he had in said library upward of seven hundred volumes treating on money and currency, and the idea of issuing currency on the basis of wealth was an entirely new and original idea, and that he had not in all his reading found it suggested in any of the works in his possession.

When the late Judge Chase was Secretary of the Treasury, and he recommended a national currency, we conferred with and urged on him to recommend its issue based on the wealth of the country; but then we were in the throes of a great rebellion, and as the result was doubtful there was no disposition to limit anything connected with the Government.

In 1869, when the country was demanding more currency, we drafted a bill to base the issue on wealth, which bill was presented to Congress by our then Representative, the Hon. Henry L. Cake, and was ordered to be printed. At the next session, when the Hon. Mr. Coburn was chosen chairman of the Committee on Banks and Currency, we urged on him to introduce in the bill for the supplementary issue the principle of basing the issue on the wealth of the country, at that time in the proportion of \$1 in currency for either \$30, \$33, or \$35 in wealth, whichever sum was deemed sufficient to furnish a suffi-

cient volume of currency. Mr. Coburn reported the supplemental bill, basing the additional issue on wealth and population, to be distributed among the States that were short of their proportion of currency. The Secretary of the Treasury and the Comptroller of the Currency, after fully discussing the matter, agreed to distribute one-half on wealth and one-half on population. Mr. Coburn's addition of population was, under the circumstances, an improvement on its issue, as many of the Southern States were poor in wealth, while they had population; and we are glad to learn that in the bill which passed the Senate on Thursday, increasing the national bank issue to \$400,000,000, the same principle is retained of basing the issue on wealth, and then distributing one-half on wealth and one-half on population.

As the Senate has fixed the limit of the legal-tender issue at \$400,000,000, and authorized an issue of \$400,000,000 to national banks, which, together with the fractional currency required, which is at the rate of about \$1 *per capita*, the volume of currency can be expanded up to, say, about \$842,000,000. The census of 1870 fixed the wealth then at \$30,000,000,000 in round numbers. At the present time it has no doubt reached \$32,000,000,000. The issue of \$1 in currency to \$37 in wealth on the census valuation would give a volume of currency on \$32,000,000,000 of wealth of \$864,000,000 in round numbers.

Now, here is a basis for the issue of currency hereafter, which will expand as business and wealth expands, without any disturbing legislation required on so sensitive a subject as currency and credit. We find the whole business of the country paralyzed on this currency legislation, and we are losing not less than one million of dollars a day in the productive industry of the country until this question is settled.

To have a fixed limit in the volume of currency in so rapid a growing country as the United States would be like employing a thousand hands and only furnishing them eight hundred implements to work with. The effect would be the same if a fixed limit is imposed on the issue of currency.

With the issue based on wealth, there would be a fixed principle established, which would govern the issue hereafter, and the volume would increase as business and wealth increases, without any disturbing element whatever.

There could be no over issue beyond the expanding limit, and consequently there would be but little contraction, and the country would be removed from those violent periodical expansions and contractions which have heretofore characterized the business of the country, because wherever there is no expansion so as to enhance values there would never be much contraction so as to destroy values, but all would move on smoothly, and the reasonable wants of all supplied. Then any person who desires to invest money in the erection of large manufacturing establishments, or any branch of business, he will know at the commencement that the currency will not be expanded beyond this limit, and consequently prices, &c., can not be run up to the highest figures, while the buildings, &c., are in course of construction, largely enhancing the cost, to be followed probably after completion by contraction, and diminishing its value probably one-half. Every business man understands this fully, and it is time that the members of Congress should know it also, because they were elected to legislate for the business interests of the country, composed mainly of the producers, who create the great bulk of the wealth of the country and support the Government, instead of legislating for the non-producing money interests of the country.

Under such a bill each State and Territory in the country will receive its proportion of currency, based on its wealth and population. This is a fair and equi-

table distribution, and we are astonished that some of the members have not moved to have this principle engrafted as the basis of the new issue, so as to gradually equalize the currency in all the States on it. It ought to be done now, so that the volume of currency should be settled on a fixed basis and principle, and no further legislation need be required, so far as the volume of currency is concerned, at least. Now is the time to settle this question, and we sincerely hope that it will be so settled. With \$1 in currency to \$37 of wealth, based on the wealth of the country, it will give us the best currency in the world; and it would not be long before it would be of equal value with gold as business and wealth increases, and even if irredeemable for a few years longer, nineteen-twentieths of the people of the country would prefer it to gold.

If we had the regulation of the currency we would issue all our paper money based on the wealth of the nation, and make all of equal value, and make it a legal tender for all purposes except for duties, which must be paid at least in part in gold, to pay the interest on our national debt. And while such an issue would be of equal value with gold, with the balance of foreign trade in our favor, we would not make it convertible into gold on demand, but leave both circulate together, the same as gold and paper now does in France, where there is but little difference in value, except when gold is in demand. We would also issue a debased silver fractional currency for circulation under a dollar, so that it will always be kept at home for change, the same as England did during her long suspension, and said change still circulates at its stamped value, and if any is carried out of the country it is immediately sent home again.

Gold we would keep for the commerce of the world, and we would leave it as it is now, an article of merchandise to equalize balances between different countries. If our importations are excessive and the price of gold should be run up,

let the importers pay the increased premium on gold, and it would check importations in the same manner as the Bank of England checks excessive importations, by putting up the rates of interest; and any disaster abroad would not affect the business interests of our country to any extent, because our paper would be unconvertible on demand, and the circulating medium of the country would not be diminished and we would be comparatively free from disasters abroad.

If we had had a convertible paper currency in September last, when the panic commenced, the smash would have been terrible, far exceeding in its desolating effects any that had preceded it, and it was our unconvertible paper currency

alone that checked at least three-fourths of the desolation that would otherwise have followed it.

We repeat, let Congress fix this basis as the policy of the Government. Free banking, if desirable, may follow hereafter on this expanding limit, but not unlimited free banking everywhere, which would unsettle everything. If free banking were thus permitted, the free banks would all be located in the money centers, and the South and West would derive but little advantage from it, because the multiplicity of banks in our cities would render banking unprofitable elsewhere. The Southern and Western members ought to think of this.

BENJ. BANNAN.

POTTSVILLE, PA., April 4, 1874.

SOUTHERN WAR CLAIMS—THE REPORT OF JUDGE WM. LAWRENCE, OF OHIO, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE OF WAR CLAIMS.

[Continued from April number.]

CHAPTER III.

OF DAMAGES DONE BY THE ENEMY.

When private property is destroyed by the unlawful acts of individuals, government seeks to give redress by civil action, or to punish for acts which are criminal. But they do not indemnify the parties who may lose by such depredations.

If a loss is sustained by arson, burglary, theft, robbery, or by an act which constitutes only a trespass, governments do not make good the loss. And this is so whether the illegal acts are done by one or many persons.

Nations apply the same rule when their citizens suffer losses by a foreign or domestic enemy. They are no more bound to repair the losses of citizens by the ravages of war than to indemnify them against losses by arson or other individual crimes, or the destruction of flocks by wolves.

In a report made by Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, to the House of Representatives, November 19, 1792, he stated the rule of law to be—

"That according to the laws and usages of nations a State is not obliged to make compensation for damages done to its citizens by an enemy, or wantonly or unauthorized by its own troops."

The rule, as thus stated, applies to all damages, whether in battle or by the seizure of army supplies, or the wanton destruction of private property on a raid or march.

It will be thus seen that neither Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Maryland, West Virginia, or Missouri, or the people of any of them, can, according to law, have any claim on the Government for damages done by rebel raids or in battle.

But where horses or quartermasters' or commissary supplies of loyal citizens were taken for the use of the Union army they are to be paid for.*

* The Legislature of Ohio, by act of March 30, 1864, (61 Ohio Laws, 85,) provided for a commission "to examine claims of citizens of this State for property taken, destroyed, or injured by rebels or Union forces within this State during the Morgan raid, in 1863."

This act makes three classes of claims:

1. For property taken, destroyed, or injured by rebels.
2. By Union forces under command of United States officers.
3. By Union forces not under command of United States officers.

On the 15th December, 1864, the commissioners made their report to the Governor, showing claims made, \$673,915 13, on which was allowed \$576,225. This consisted of "damages by the rebels," \$428,168; "damages by Union forces under command of United States officers," \$141,855, and "damages by Union forces not under command of United States officers,"

CHAPTER IV.

PROPERTY DESTROYED OR DAMAGED
IN BATTLE BY THE GOVERNMENT
FORCES, OR WANTONLY OR UNAU-
THORIZED BY ITS OWN TROOPS.

The American rule of international law was early adopted that the Government was under no obligation to compensate its citizens for property destroyed or damages done in battle or by necessary military operations in repelling an invading enemy.

To this rule Alexander Hamilton added that:

\$6,202. The report does not distinguish between property taken and that damaged or destroyed.

The act of April 27, 1872, (69 Laws, 176.) authorized a re-examination of these claims.

The act of May 5, 1873, appropriates \$11,539 56 to pay claims under class three, as classified under the act of April 27, 1872.—(70 Laws, 260.) The same act (p. 265) requires the Governor to appoint a commissioner to proceed to Washington to urge upon the proper officers of the Government or Congress the payment of all just claims of the people of Ohio growing out of the Morgan raid.

The Legislature of Pennsylvania also made provision for indemnifying citizens of Chambersburg for property destroyed by the rebel invasion.

See act approved April 9, 1868, No. 39, Laws of 1868, p. 74. This act provides for the appointment of commissioners to investigate claims of citizens in counties invaded by rebel forces "for the amount of their losses in the late war."

The preamble to this act recites that "during the late war to suppress the rebellion several of the southern counties of this State were several times invaded by the rebels in great force," and that "there was occasioned great destruction, devastation, and loss of property of citizens," and "these losses were sustained in the common cause, and for the general welfare of the whole people of this Commonwealth, and it is *reasonable and proper* that citizens who have thus suffered should receive *generous consideration* and active relief from this great Commonwealth," &c.

The Governor of Pennsylvania has furnished the following:

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
HARRISBURG, PA., March —, 1874.
Statement of War Claims.

Adams county.....	\$489,438 99
Fulton county.....	56,544 98
Franklin county, burning of Chambersburg.....	1,625,435 55
Franklin county, other claims...	846,053 30
Cumberland county.....	211,778 95½
York county.....	214,720 05
Bedford county.....	6,818 03
Somerset county.....	120 00
	<hr/>
	3,450,909 85½

Amounts Paid.

Under act of August 20, 1861.....	\$100,000
Under act of February 15, 1866.....	500,000
Under act of May 27, 1871.....	300,000

Commission to re-examine and re-adjudicate was raised under act of May 22, 1871.—(P. L. 1871, p. 272.)

It will be seen that this act does not put the claims upon the ground of a *legal right* to demand compensation, but on *the ground of generosity*.

"According to the laws and usages of nations, a State is not obliged to make compensation for damages done to its citizens. * * wantonly or unauthorized by its own troops."

This is the general rule which is recognized now.

It has been said, again, that—

"No government, but for a special favor, has ever paid for property, even of its own citizens, destroyed in its own country, on attacking or defending itself against a common public enemy, much less is any government obliged to pay for property belonging to neutrals domiciled in the country of its enemy which may possibly be destroyed by its forces in their operations against such enemy."

Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, said, in relation to a claim made upon the United States by a French subject for property destroyed by the bombardment of Greytown, in July, 1854, that—

"The British Government, upon the advice of the law officers of the Crown, declared to Parliament its inability to prosecute similar claims."

This is the rule recognized by Vattel, who says: "But there are other damages caused by inevitable necessity, as, for instance, the destruction caused by the artillery in retaking a town from the enemy. These are merely accidents. They are misfortunes, which chance deals out to the proprietors on whom they happen to fall. * * No action lies against the State for misfortunes of this nature, for losses which she has occasioned, not willfully, but through necessity and by mere accident in the exertion of her rights."

These principles are generally recognized, and any departure from them rests on mere gratuity or other exceptional reasons.

CHAPTER V.

TEMPORARY OCCUPATION OF, INJURIES TO, AND DESTRUCTION OF, PROPERTY CAUSED BY ACTUAL AND NECESSARY GOVERNMENT MILITARY OPERATIONS TO REPEL A THREATENED ATTACK OF, OR IN ADVANCING TO MEET, AN ENEMY IN FLAGRANT WAR.

By the principles of universal law recognized anterior to the Constitution, in force when it was adopted, and never abrogated, every civilized nation is in duty bound to pay for army supplies taken from its loyal citizens, and for all property voluntarily taken for or devoted to "public use."

But there is a class of cases in which property, real or personal, of loyal citizens may be temporarily occupied or in-

jured, or even destroyed, on the theater of and by military operations, either in a loyal State or in enemy's country, in time of war, as a military necessity. The advance or retreat of an army may necessarily destroy roads, bridges, fences, and growing crops.

In self-defense an army may, of necessity, erect forts, construct embankments, and seize cotton-bales, timber, or stone, to make barricades.

In battle or immediately after, and when it may be impossible to procure property in any regular mode by contract or impressment, self-preservation and humanity may require the temporary occupancy of houses for hospitals for wounded soldiers, or for the shelter of troops, and for necessary military operations which admit of neither choice nor delay.

In these and similar cases the question arises whether there is a deliberate voluntary taking of property for public use requiring compensation, or whether these acts arise from and are governed by the law of overruling military necessity—mere accidents of war inevitably and unavoidably incidental to its operations—and which by international law impose no obligation to make recompense. It seems quite clear that they are of this latter class.

This is so upon reason, authority, and the usage of nations.

The rule has been thus stated by the late solicitor of the War Department:

"If one of our armies marches across a corn-field, and so destroys a growing crop, or fires a building which conceals or protects the enemy, or cuts down timber to open a passage for troops through a forest, the owner of such property, citizen or alien, has no legal claim to have his losses made up to him by the United States. Misfortunes like these must be borne wherever they fall. If any government is obliged to guarantee its subjects against losses by casualties of public war, such obligations must be founded upon some constitutional or statute law. Thus far no such obligations have been recognized in our system of congressional legislation."—(Whiting's War Powers, 43d ed., 1871, p. 340.)

Damages done by the erection of forts, the seizure of timber or materials for barricades, under pressure of military necessity, give no legal right to compensation.

"In time of war," said the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, "bulwarks may be built on private ground, and the reason assigned is * * because it is for the public safety."

It is a lawful act, imposing no liability

on the Government, which is guilty of no wrong, and which makes no promise by the act.

In principle it can make no difference whether a forest or cotton-bales are destroyed by cannonading in battle, in case an army seeks shelter behind them, or seizes them in advance to throw up breastworks for safety. Yet all writers agree that a nation is not bound to make compensation in such cases as these.

The same position has been judicially assumed. The Supreme Court of Georgia has said:

"It is not to be doubted but that there are cases in which private property may be taken for a public use without the consent of the owner, and without compensation, and without any provision of law for making compensation. There are cases of urgent public necessity, which no law has anticipated, and which can not await the action of the legislature. In such cases the injured individual has no redress at law—those who seize the property are not trespassers. For example, the pulling down of houses and raising bulwarks for the defense of the State against an enemy, seizing corn and other provisions for the sustenance of an army in time of war, or taking cotton-bags, as General Jackson did at New Orleans, to build ramparts against an invading foe."

The Government has always paid loyal citizens for the use and occupation of buildings and grounds in loyal States when used for officers' quarters, regular recruiting camps, and in cases where the occupation was voluntary and the result of choice superinduced by no overruling military necessity, and for this the law provides.

The President in his message of June 1, 1872, said:

"It is a general principle of both international and municipal law that all property is held subject not only to be taken by the Government for public uses, in which case, under the Constitution of the United States, the owner is entitled to just compensation, *but also subject to be temporarily occupied*, or even actually destroyed, in times of great public danger and *when the public safety demands it*, and in this latter case governments do not admit a legal obligation on their part to compensate the owner. The temporary occupation of, injuries to, and destruction of property caused by actual and necessary military operations are generally considered to fall within the last-mentioned principle. If a government makes compensation under such circumstances, it is a matter of bounty rather than of strict legal right."

CHAPTER VI.

PROPERTY WHICH MAY BE USEFUL TO THE ENEMY SEIZED AND DESTROYED OR DAMAGED TO PREVENT IT FROM FALLING INTO THEIR HANDS.

The question now to be considered is, whether the Government is liable to make compensation for the property of a loyal citizen in a loyal State, seized and destroyed or damaged by competent military authority—*flagrante bello*—to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy, as an element of strength where warlike operations are in progress, or where the approach of the enemy is prospectively imminent.

It has been asserted with great emphasis that the duty to make compensation in such cases as have frequently arisen in each House of Congress—

“Is a principle not recognized by public law, by the law of nations or any other code of law or morals known to the civilized world. It has never been applied by our own Government, by the government of Great Britain, or any other civilized government in the world.”

Vattel recognizes the law of necessity in time of war thus :

“But there are other damages caused by *inevitable necessity*; as, for instance, the destruction caused by the artillery in retaking a town from the enemy. These are merely accidents. They are misfortunes, which chance deals out to the proprietors on whom they happen to fall.”

The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania recognized this law of necessity in time of war as distinct from the civil right of *eminent domain* by saying :

“Many things are lawful in that season (*flagrante bello*) which would not be permitted in time of peace. * * * The rights of necessity form a part of our law.”

The Supreme Court of Georgia recognizes this same law of necessity both in peace and war :

“There are cases of *urgent public necessity*, which no law has anticipated, and which can not await the action of the Legislature; those who seize the property are not trespassers, and there is no relief but by petition to the Legislature. * * * For example, the pulling down houses and raising bulwarks for the defense of the State against an enemy; seizing corn and other provisions, for the sustenance of an army, in time of war; or taking cotton-bags, as General Jackson did at New Orleans, to build ramparts against an invading foe.”

These cases illustrate the maxim, *Salus populi suprema lex*. *Plate-Glass Co. vs. Meredith*, 4 T. R., 797; *Noys' Maxims*,

9 ed., 36; *Dyer*, 60 b; *Broom's Maxims*, 1; 2 *Bulst.*, 61; 12 *Coke*, 13, *the Prerogative case*, id., 63; 2 *Kent.*, 338; 1 *Blackst. Com.*, 101, note 18, by Chitty. Extreme necessity alone can justify these cases.

The Supreme Court of New Jersey recognizes the distinction :

“It is true that by many writers of high authority, the grounds of justification of an act done for the public good and of an act committed *through necessity* are not accurately distinguished. They are both spoken of as grounded on necessity, and they doubtless are so. But the one is a *State*, the other an *individual* necessity, though oftentimes resulting in a public or general good. The one is a *civil* the other a *natural* right. The one is founded on property, and is an exercise of sovereignty; the other has no connection with the one or the other.”

During the Revolutionary war, in April, 1777, the Pennsylvania board of war, acting by authority of the Legislature, took possession of certain provisions owned by private individuals, in Philadelphia, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy, then approaching that city, but with a pledge to the owners that this was not designed the divest the property in the articles, but “that the same should be liable to the order of the owners, provided they were not exposed to be taken by the enemy.” They were captured by the enemy. The statute provided for payment by the State “for services performed, moneys advanced, or *articles furnished*.” The proper accounting officer refusing to pay, the owner of the property brought suit. The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania held that these were *not* “articles furnished;” in other words, that the taking was *not* for “*public use*,” that the articles were taken by the law of “overruling necessity.”

The syllabus of the case is :

“During the war of the Revolution Congress had a right to direct the removal of any articles that were necessary to the Continental Army, or useful to the enemy, and in danger of falling into their hands; and one whose property, so removed, was afterward captured by the enemy was held not to be entitled to compensation from the Commonwealth.”

Chief Justice McKean, in delivering the unanimous opinion of the court, said :

“The transaction, it must be remembered, happened *flagrante bello*; and many things are lawful in that season which would not be permitted in time of peace. The seizure of the property in question can, indeed, only be justified

under this distinction ; for otherwise, it would clearly have been a *trespass* ; which, from the very nature of the term, *transgressio*, imports to go beyond what is right.—(5 *Bac. Abr.*, 150.) It is a rule, however, that it is better to suffer a private mischief than a public inconvenience ; and the *rights of necessity* form a part of our law.

“Of this principle there are many striking illustrations. If a road be out of repair, a passenger may lawfully go through a private inclosure.—(2 *Black. Com.*, 36.) So, if a man is assaulted, he may fly through another’s close.—(5 *Bac. Abr.*, 173.) In time of war, bulwarks may be built on private ground.—(*Dyer & Brook, Trespass*, 213 ; 5 *Bac. Abr.*, 175.) And the reason assigned is particularly applicable to the present case, because it is for the public safety.—(20 *Vin. Abr.*, trespass, B’a sec. 4, fo. 476.) Thus, also, every man may, of common right, justify the going of his servants or horses, upon the banks of navigable rivers, for towing barges, &c., to whomsoever the right of the soil belongs.—(1 *Ld. Raymond*, 725.) The pursuit of foxes through another’s grounds is allowed, because the destruction of such animals is for the public good.—(2 *Buls.*, 62 ; *Cro. I. I.* 321.) And as the safety of the people is a law above all others, it is lawful to part affrayers in the house of another man.—(*Keyl.* 46 ; 5 *Bac. Abr.*, 177 ; 20 *Vin. Abr.*, fo. 407, sec. 14.) Houses may be razed to prevent the spreading of fire, because for the public good.—(*Dyer*, 36 ; *Reed, L. and E.*, 312 ; see *Puff.*, lib. 2, c. 6, sec. 8 ; *Hutch. Mor. Philos.*, lib. 2, c. 16.) We find, indeed, a memorable instance of folly recorded in the third volume of Clarendon’s History, where it is mentioned that the lord mayor of London, in 1666, when that city was on fire, would not give directions for, or consent to, the pulling down forty wooden houses, or to the removing the furniture, &c., belonging to the lawyers of the temple, then on the circuit, for fear he should be answerable for a trespass ; and in consequence of this conduct half that great city was burnt. We are clearly of opinion that Congress might lawfully direct the removal of any articles that were necessary to the maintenance of the Continental Army or useful to the enemy and in danger of falling into their hands, for they were vested with the powers of peace and war, to which this was a natural and necessary incident. And having done it lawfully, there is nothing in the circumstances of the case which we think entitles the appellant to a compensation for the consequent loss.”

CHAPTER VII.

CLAIMS OF ALIENS—INTERNATIONAL-LAW COURT.

The President, in his last annual message, said to Congress :

“I recommend legislation to create a special court, to consist of three judges, who shall be empowered to hear and determine all claims of aliens upon the United States arising out of acts committed against their persons or property during the insurrection. The recent reference under the treaty of Washington was confined to claims of British subjects arising during the period named in the treaty ; but it is understood that there other British claims of a similar nature arising after the 9th of April, 1865, and it is known that other claims of a like nature are advanced by citizens or subjects of other powers. It is desirable to have these claims also examined and disposed of.”

There are many reasons why such a court should be created. Almost from the foundation of the Government mixed commissions have been created, by diplomatic arrangements, to make awards on the claims of our citizens against other nations, and those of subjects of other Powers against this nation. The result shows a necessity for a permanent court. If a time shall ever come when such court is no longer needed, it can then be abolished, if it shall now be created.

The rapidly increasing population and commerce of the United States, and the multiplied means of and necessity for intercourse with foreign nations, must necessarily add to the number and magnitude of claims and questions arising on international law.

While the awards of these commissions have been valuable in many respects, they have not resulted in giving to the world a well-defined and authoritative system or uniform rules of international law. Their decisions have sometimes been contradictory in principle.

A court specially organized with a view to pass upon questions of international law would secure a degree of learning and uniformity scarcely attainable by temporary commissions composed of different persons selected for an occasion.

Heretofore the awards of these commissions have been final.

If a court is established, from whose decision an appeal may be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, the great learning and ability of that court will aid in securing a settled system of international law which will not

reach it in any other mode. A court will also be more economical than the plan of a mixed commission.

The report shows the expenses of the mixed commissions for ten years past, and demonstrates that a court would be less expensive.

The whole subject of the necessity and value of such a court has been fully considered by the learned and able Secretary of State, whose enlightened labors have added so much luster to our diplomatic history. His conclusions on this subject are submitted herewith.

It can not be doubted that such a court would be a great agency for good in preserving a good understanding between nations and in securing the relations of peace.

An *alien* can not sue in the Court of Claims for any tort or wrong done him in person or property by our Government or military forces during the rebellion. They can not go before the Commissioners of Claims to recover the value of army supplies. These commissioners can only hear claims of *citizens*.

Nearly every foreign nation gives citizens of the United States and all aliens a right to sue the Government.

If a court is not established, the Government will, by treaty with foreign Powers, organize mixed commissions, and these will be more expensive than a court, less satisfactory, and in all respects less desirable.

By the treaty with Great Britain of May 8, 1871, a mixed commission was provided, and this settled the claims of our citizens against Great Britain, and it allowed British subjects \$1,929,819 against our Government, which sum has been paid.

If we refuse to make provisions for citizens of France, Prussia, Italy, &c., we incur the displeasure of those nations and refuse simple justice. The whole claims would probably be but little over a million of dollars.

The report recommends such a court, and proposes that it shall decide claims at any time involving *any question of international law* referred to it by the President, Secretary of State, or either house of Congress.

It is shown that the business of the Court of Claims is now such that it can not, within any reasonable time, hear these claims, if the jurisdiction should be conferred on that.

The report concludes :

If the general principles or purpose of the foregoing pages shall be approved, it only remains—

First. To reject the claims now before the Committee of War Claims for which the Government is not liable by any act of Congress or rule of international law.

Second. To provide for the payment of those which are just and clearly proved.

Third. To refer to the Commissioners of Claims those where there is, *prima facie*, a legal claim ; and,

Fourth. As soon as practicable, when the public finances will admit, as an act of grace or favor, consider the claims to some measure of recompense of strictly loyal and meritorious citizens, guilty of no omission of duty, whose necessities may commend them to sympathy, or for whom special merit may demand gratitude, and who have suffered losses from the enemy in consequence of their loyalty, or from the Government as an imperative military necessity.

But those who inaugurated and urged rebellion and continued disloyal, including corporations and associations of whatever character controlled by disloyal men and in the interest of the rebellion, have no claim to any mitigation of the rules of international law which exempt the Government from liability. Concessions in their favor would be a violation of law, would tax loyal men without reason or justice, would obliterate the distinctions between the demands of merit and the deserts of those who have no just right to expect rewards for duties violated. Humanity, reason, and justice will sanction free and full amnesty. The past of the rebellion should be forgiven, and it should be forgotten, save only as it may serve to preserve peace and secure duty in the future, and even its memories should be, "with malice toward none and charity for all."

THE proposition to pass, free of postage through the mails, exchange papers between publishers and weekly papers within the county in which they are published, has passed the House by a large majority.

THE NEW MOVEMENT FOR CLOSER RELATIONS WITH THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

The negotiations recently commenced by the British Minister at Washington with the Secretary of State of the United States, on the question of a new Treaty of Reciprocal Free Trade between the Dominion of Canada and the United States, can not fail of leading to good results. It may not, and probably will not, accomplish what was originally proposed by the friends of the movement. But what is of greater importance, it will open up to free and full discussion, both in the Dominion and in the United States, the higher and grander problem of an absolute union of the two great branches of the Anglo-American family under one government and one system of laws and commercial regulations.

The able representative of the British Government, in behalf of the government and the people of the Dominion, aided by the official representatives of our neighbors, comes, very properly, with a proposition for a new Treaty of Reciprocity. With equal justice the Government and Congress of the United States may propose a permanent political union* as being more complete and better adapted to advance the social, moral, and material interests of every individual affected by the proposed important changes. Both of these propositions are legitimate and important, and while the advocates of Commercial Reciprocity will have a cordial reception from the Administration, and every argument advanced in support of the measure will receive the most profound consideration, not only by the President, but also by Congress and the people, it is but reasonable to exercise the fullest confidence that the question of permanent Political Union ought to receive equally respectful and careful consider-

ation from the officials and the people of the Dominion of Canada.

Neither of these problems is new. They have both been the subject of profound and anxious thought for years on both sides of the boundary line between the two parties more immediately interested; and as the subjects are of great magnitude, so they have been the theme of conversation and argument by the ablest statesmen in both America and Europe.* It will be admitted by all familiar with the facts, that at the present day the public mind in the Dominion is a unit in favor of commercial reciprocity; while in the United States there is great unanimity of sentiment on the question of closer political relations. It would seem, then, that the investigation of these important problems should be directed mainly to their respective merits and comparative advantages, as affecting the present and future interests of the communities involved in the ultimate results.

We shall, therefore, take up each of the propositions separately, and attempt, at least, to make a candid examination of their respective merits and ultimate advantages. At all events, we shall claim for our opinions entire impartiality, and in the name of true reciprocity shall hope that an examination of the views presented will be made by the public in the same spirit of candor and

* The *London Morning Post* says: "It seems to be manifest destiny that there shall be but one government on the North American Continent. Whether we wish it or not, popular opinion, the laws of trade and commerce, all seem to tend that way."

* George W. Bowes, of Halifax, N. S., in an able pamphlet on the union of the Colonies and the States, referring to the official importance of consolidation, remarks that, "There are several considerations which properly come under this head. 1. The reduction of governmental expenses, by the existence of one where there would be two chief magistrates. 2. The reduction of expenses in connection with governmental buildings—there being need of but one capitol. 3. The diminishing of liveried and salaried officials and attendants in all the public departments. 4. The saving of time in the discussion of the public policy of the country. 5. The diminution of extravagant and ponderous delegations to the British Government. 6. The abolition of a line of demarkation from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Puget's Sound, bristling with antagonistic armaments, and studded with a double row of custom-houses."

unselfishness.* The subject is pre-eminently one which should be considered in the light of the greatest good to all classes and interests concerned, and from that standpoint the writer will endeavor to examine, in succession, some of the more important interests involved

*The writer has lived a quarter of a century in the Colonies, and has passed the same number of years in the United States. He has closely studied the interests of both peoples, and has long believed that a permanent Union will add immensely to the material interests of both, and secure a higher civilization for the entire continent.

Statement of the Value of Imports from, and Exports to, the British American Provinces during the last fifty-three years, from the United States Official Records:

Years ended.	Imports.	Domestic Exports.	Foreign Exports.	Total Exports.	Excess of Imports.	Excess of Exports.	Total Imports and Exports.
1822	\$526,817	\$1,882,587	\$16,286	\$1,898,873	.....	\$1,372,056	\$2,425,660
1823	463,779	1,821,226	5,907	1,827,203	.....	1,363,424	2,490,982
1824	714,144	1,780,350	2,617	1,782,967	.....	1,068,823	2,497,111
1825	619,884	2,554,292	1,740	2,556,032	.....	1,936,148	3,175,916
1826	653,961	2,564,165	24,630	2,588,795	.....	1,934,844	3,242,746
1827	445,118	2,797,014	33,734	2,830,748	.....	2,385,630	3,275,866
1828	447,669	1,618,288	56,386	1,674,674	.....	1,227,005	2,122,343
1829	577,542	2,724,104	40,805	2,764,909	.....	2,187,367	3,342,451
1830	650,303	3,650,031	136,342	3,786,373	.....	3,136,070	4,435,676
1831	864,909	4,026,342	35,446	4,061,838	.....	3,196,929	4,926,747
1832	1,229,526	3,560,302	45,083	3,614,385	.....	2,384,859	4,843,911
1833	1,793,343	4,340,081	81,003	4,421,084	.....	2,677,691	6,264,477
1834	1,548,733	3,477,709	57,567	3,535,276	.....	1,986,543	5,084,009
1835	1,435,168	3,600,545	147,343	4,047,888	.....	2,612,720	5,483,656
1836	2,427,571	2,456,415	194,851	2,651,266	.....	223,695	5,078,837
1837	2,359,263	2,992,474	296,512	3,288,986	.....	929,723	5,648,249
1838	1,553,570	2,484,987	238,504	2,723,491	.....	1,167,921	4,279,067
1839	2,155,146	3,418,770	144,684	3,563,454	.....	1,408,308	5,718,600
1840	2,007,767	5,845,966	204,035	6,100,001	.....	4,092,234	8,107,768
1841	1,968,187	6,292,240	364,273	6,656,563	.....	4,688,376	8,624,750
1842	1,762,001	5,950,143	240,166	6,190,308	.....	4,428,308	7,952,310
1843	857,696	2,617,005	107,417	2,724,422	.....	1,866,726	3,582,118
1844	1,463,715	5,361,186	1,354,717	6,715,903	.....	5,250,188	8,181,618
1845	2,040,065	4,844,966	1,209,269	6,054,226	.....	4,034,161	8,074,291
1846	1,937,717	6,042,666	1,363,767	7,406,433	.....	5,468,716	9,344,150
1847	2,343,927	5,819,667	2,165,876	7,985,543	.....	5,641,616	10,320,470
1848	3,646,467	6,399,959	1,982,696	8,382,655	.....	4,736,188	12,029,122
1849	2,826,880	5,932,106	2,172,161	8,104,267	.....	5,277,387	10,831,147
1850	5,644,462	7,758,291	1,790,744	9,549,035	.....	3,904,573	15,193,497
1851	6,693,122	9,060,387	2,954,536	12,014,923	.....	5,321,801	18,708,045
1852	6,110,299	6,655,047	3,853,919	10,509,016	.....	4,398,717	16,619,315
1853	7,550,718	7,404,087	5,736,555	13,140,642	.....	5,589,924	20,691,360
1854	8,947,560	15,204,144	9,362,716	24,566,860	.....	15,639,300	33,494,420
1855	15,135,734	15,806,642	11,990,378	27,806,020	.....	12,669,286	42,942,754
1856	21,310,421	22,714,697	6,314,652	29,029,349	.....	7,718,928	50,339,770
1857	22,124,295	19,936,113	4,326,369	24,262,482	.....	2,138,186	46,386,778
1858	15,806,519	19,638,959	4,012,768	23,651,727	.....	7,845,208	39,458,246
1859	19,727,551	21,769,627	6,384,547	28,154,174	.....	8,426,623	47,881,725
1860	23,851,381	18,667,429	4,038,899	22,706,328	\$1,145,053	.....	46,557,709
1861	23,062,933	18,883,715	3,861,898	22,745,613	317,320	.....	45,808,546
1862	19,299,993	18,652,012	2,427,103	21,079,115	.....	1,779,120	40,379,110
1863	24,021,264	28,629,110	2,651,929	31,281,030	.....	7,259,766	55,302,294
1864	33,922,015	26,567,221	2,419,926	28,987,147	9,934,868	.....	67,504,162
1865	38,820,969	30,455,989	2,097,858	32,553,847	6,267,122	.....	71,374,816
1866	54,714,383	26,874,888	2,481,684	29,356,572	25,357,811	.....	84,070,955
1867	33,604,178	20,548,704	3,774,465	24,323,169	9,281,009	.....	57,927,347
1868	30,362,221	23,690,717	2,661,555	26,262,272	4,099,949	.....	56,624,493
1869	32,090,314	20,891,786	3,305,446	24,197,232	7,893,082	.....	56,287,546
1870	41,089,801	22,570,439	4,278,885	26,849,324	14,241,477	.....	67,933,125
1871	37,424,351	29,790,894	4,711,832	34,502,726	2,921,625	.....	71,927,077
1872	40,961,432	27,774,091	4,984,989	32,759,080	8,202,352	.....	73,730,512
1873	43,809,070	34,368,811	4,203,745	38,572,556	5,236,514	.....	82,381,626

NOTE.—In 1843 the end of the fiscal year was changed from September 30 to June 30, making only nine months in that fiscal year.

From this statement the reader will see at a glance the actual results of the trade and commerce between the British American colonies and the United States during the last half century. Its limited compass in 1822, and slow growth through thirty years, up to 1853, when the effects of the reciprocity treaty of the previous year began to be felt; its unprecedented expansion from that period to 1866, when the effects of the treaty had reached their maximum; and the sudden decrease of over twenty-six million dollars in our international trade during the next year, (1867,) are profoundly significant results, and can not fail to impress the reader with the importance of closer free trade relations with our cousins beyond the borders of the American Union. In 1822 the entire trade, imports and exports, between the colonies and the States amounted to \$2,425,690. During the next thirty years, nearly an entire generation, it had grown only to \$16,619,315 per annum, while the reciprocity treaty brought it up, in 1866, to \$84,070,955 per annum, *an increase in little more than a single decade of sixty-seven and a half million dollars*, or more than five times its greatest capacity previous to the treaty! It will be noted, too, that the ratio of increase was greater in the last than in the first years of the treaty; and if the arrangement had been continued up to the present time the rate of increase would have justified the assurance that our interchange of commodities could not now have been less than \$300,000,000 per annum. The resources of the colonies are almost unlimited, and their rapid development under the effects of the treaty warrant the conclusion that the supply could have been increased equal to the demand, to the extent we have indicated. But in consequence of closing the treaty our total trade per annum is less now than it was at the date of its termination.*

*Mr. Bowles, in his able pamphlet already referred to, says: "An examination of the figures shows that our mercantile connection with the States, from 1854 to 1864, was a very important period of our history; that until

There is another feature in the commerce between the British American colonies and the United States that can not be overlooked in estimating its importance, and that is, its reciprocal balances. An examination of the table of figures will show that the aggregate of imports and exports, in fifty years, just about balance each other. The excess in some years is in favor of the colonies and in other seasons it is on the side of the States; but ultimate results are the same or nearly so. Now, how is it with the colonies in their next best market—that of England? Let us see.

BRITISH AMERICAN TRADE WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

As the trade between England and her colonies in America varies but little in its annual averages, the results of a single year will indicate its general nature and its bearing upon the colonies. The following are the Dominion official returns of the value of British American imports from and exports to Great Britain for 1872:

Provinces.	Imports.	Exports.
Ontario.....	\$16,258,934	\$1,553,708
Quebec.....	33,731,014	20,655,937
New Brunswick.....	5,738,439	2,364,249
Nova Scotia.....	6,113,204	424,947
Manitoba.....	655,089	(None.)
British Columbia.....	592,845	224,924
Total.....	63,089,625	25,223,765

It will be seen at a glance that this is a one sided trade, the difference against the provinces being \$37,865,860. This deficit must be met by bills of exchange, drawn upon the excess of exports to other markets. But the difficulty with

war intervened a gradually increasing native trade sprung up, and which would, doubtless, have assumed larger proportions had not the treaty been annulled. The change in coal, in fish, and in vegetables has been so marked as to produce stagnation in all the branches of industry affected by them. A universal desire has been expressed to have the treaty renewed, and the influences of the British and British North American governments have been exerted to secure its favorable consideration, but without the slightest success."

the provinces is to find other markets affording a remunerative demand for their products.* Hence the necessity for free trade relations with the United States, the advantages of which were so satisfactorily demonstrated by the results of the former treaty arrangement.

DIFFICULTIES IN THE WAY OF A NEW RECIPROCITY TREATY.

However anxious the representatives of trade and commerce of the United States may be to revive the treaty of reciprocity with the British American colonies, there are reasons which, at the present time, render such an arrangement impracticable, if not impossible. When the former treaty was negotiated the American Government was comparatively free from debt. Owing to the cost of a protracted war the financial obligations of the Government have been materially increased. These obligations must be met promptly. The revenues for this purpose are derived mainly from the tariff on foreign goods. The importations from the provinces pay into the United States Treasury about \$9,000,000 annually. A free trade treaty would cut off these receipts, and reduce the annual revenues to that extent, or nearly so, and importations from other countries or the products of our own people would, of necessity, be required to pay an additional tax to that amount to meet the deficiency.

Another insurmountable objection to a free trade reciprocity comes from the demand of international equity. If free trade or a reduced tariff should be conceded to the Dominion of Canada,

* In the "Trade and Navigation Tables" of the Dominion of Canada for the fiscal year 1872, the latest received, it is stated, (page 8,) that "For the year 47.17 per cent. of the whole external trade of the senior provinces was carried on with Great Britain; 35.63 per cent. with the United States of America, and the remaining 17.20 per cent. with all other countries named." If over one-third of the trade is now with the United States, against a high tariff on either side, what would the percentage be with those tariffs removed?

The exports from the colonies during 1866, the last year of the direct effects of the reciprocity treaty, amounted in value to \$51,714,383, which gave the colonies a balance of trade against the United States of \$25,357,811, with which to meet the deficiency in the colonial exports to Great Britain, and balance their accounts with that country.

similar favors would be demanded, and justly too, by our southern neighbors, Cuba, Mexico, the South American Republics, and the West India islands. The claim of either of these is now as strong as that of Canada or the Maritime provinces; and if the concession should be made to the Dominion government, the claim would then come in the form of a demand from other governmental authorities, on the recognized principle of international custom, that they are entitled to privileges "equal to those conceded to the most favored nation or government." To refuse would cause jealousy, while concession would destroy our revenues and involve the Government in a system of special free trade treaties and "entangling alliances," which it has ever been the policy of successive Administrations to avoid.

But the greatest barrier to a free trade reciprocity, at the present time, and one which could not fail to compel the United States Senate to reject any treaty or measure of that nature, is the injustice it would offer to our own producers. Under a reciprocity treaty the products of the Dominion would have free access to our markets without revenue tax, while our own farmers, wool-growers, lumberers, and manufacturers would be compelled to meet, not only their own share of the Government expenses, but also that portion which is now borne by our neighbors, who would then enjoy the benefit of our markets for the disposal of their products without any revenue tax whatever. No such injustice will ever meet with favor by the Administration or by Congress.

There are other powerful objections to free trade or specially reduced tariff regulations with the British American provinces. Among these is the greatly increased inducements and opportunities it would afford for smuggling European goods through the colonies into the United States. But enough has been advanced to convince any candid mind on either side of the boundary line that the question admits of but

one solution—an unavoidable negative. No one on giving the subject a thorough and impartial investigation can arrive at any other conclusion. This may be and no doubt is regretted by the communities on either side of the boundary line of separation.

But the disappointment need not be of a very painful nature, in view of the fact that the objects sought can be realized to an extent far beyond the possibilities of a mere reciprocity treaty. There was a time when a reciprocal commercial arrangement was feasible, and it was adopted. But the day of small things has passed, and now the duty of continental statesmen clearly involves the consideration of a better and a nobler national destiny by

THE UNION OF THE DOMINION AND THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC.

This proposition is not suggested with a view to hasty or inconsiderate legislative action by either government more immediately interested. It is made under a full conviction that its great importance, as affecting the destiny of continental communities, will secure for it careful consideration by both colonial and American statesmen, and a thorough examination by every class of readers both in the Dominion and in the United States.*

We hear of "manifest destiny," and it seems to the mind like the prompting of providential inspiration. When, in the more remote ages of the world but little was known of the science of government, and when might usurped the place of right—with power rather than

principle as the governing motive—one of the natural results was frequent imaginary occasions for recourse to war, resulting in constant territorial changes and an increase of independent possessions or petty powers. This always led directly to increased cost of government and a corresponding enlargement of the burdens of the people in taxes, and the compulsory performance of military duty. Europe is to-day groaning under the curse of standing armies, from which there can apparently come no relief as long as the territory is parceled out among a score of rival and jealous independent sovereignties.

The destiny of the Anglo-American communities of the Western Continent, if we may judge from its comparatively brief history up to the present time, is to solve the problem of paternal government on the broad and only just principle of equality under the laws. Spain, at one time, enjoyed the privilege of almost absolute rule over the newly discovered continent, and had the opportunity of introducing the principles of continental unity of government; but although at that time Spain ranked among the advanced nations in the progress toward free government, yet her statesmen fell far short of comprehending those principles which recognize fully the rights of the governed. Without this element there was no adhesion, and her vast American territories slipped in rapid succession from her control.

France planted her foot squarely upon the continent with the purpose of introducing universal government, and with a zeal which, if it had been guided by enlightened principles of free government and popular education, could not have failed of being productive of great results. But her ambition, like that of Spain, was satisfied with transplanting from the parent stock a branch of the French Government, with all its hereditary imperfections. This, however, was not the destiny of the New World, and France was finally compelled to relinquish her strong hold of America, extending at one time from the St. Law-

* "We believe it is the destiny of the Canadas, and perhaps of all British North America, ultimately to unite its fortunes with ours. We hold that contiguity, a common interest in the navigation of the great chain of lakes and rivers which traverse the heart of our continent, our common origin, language, and representative institutions, foreshadow and commend such a fusion. It is at war alike with her essential interests and with ours that a long line of demarkation from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Puget's Sound should bristle with antagonistic armaments and be studded with a double row of custom-houses. We shall soon need her timber, grain, cattle, and wood; she has like need of our cotton, sugar, agricultural machinery and manufactures; and these mutual wants will in time command and secure a union like that between long jealous, hostile, belligerent England and Scotland."—*New York Tribune*.

rence westward to the Mississippi, and northward to Hudson's bay.

The respective Governments of those nations having failed in the attempt at continental unity, that mission devolved upon England, and was undertaken and followed up with an Anglo-American spirit and energy which seems to point to a full realization, at no distant day, of a continental commonwealth of States, each independent and free in the management of its own internal affairs, but united with all others by a central government and a uniform system of general laws, so as to secure absolute free trade throughout the entire Union, and unlimited scope for the fullest development of all the resources of each and every State. The rapid extension of Anglo-American communities over the continent up to this time is simply amazing.* Newfoundland gave England her foothold in America in 1583; Virginia was settled in 1607; Massachusetts in 1620; Nova Scotia and New Hampshire in 1623; New Brunswick and Maine in 1630; Connecticut, Maryland, and Rhode Island in 1633, 1634, and 1636; North Carolina in 1650; South Carolina in 1670, and Hudson's bay and Northwest territory in the same year; Pennsylvania in 1682; Vermont in 1723; Georgia in 1733; Tennessee in 1756; Cape Breton, now a part of Nova Scotia, in 1758, and Lower and Upper Canada in 1759. Kentucky was settled from Virginia in 1775; Ohio from New England in 1778, and so the frontier continued to recede until it reached the

waters of the Pacific, and extended along its northern coasts into and beyond the Territory of Alaska. And yet the machinery of the central government moves with all the facility and ease experienced when there were only thirteen States, with a territory but little larger than the area of the State of Texas alone. Over all this vast territory there is absolute free trade, while in Europe, upon a less extent of territory, there are nearly two score of independent sovereignties, without political sympathy or commercial ties, but with standing armies menacing each other, and tariffs prohibiting or obstructing continental commerce. It is the UNION of the English-speaking communities upon the vast area of territory indicated (the British Provinces yet excepted) that gives free trade and prosperity to each section, makes each State great, rich, and powerful, and confers the countless benefits and blessings enjoyed by all. There is no possible reason why the colonies now embraced in the Dominion Confederation may not enjoy the same degree of prosperity within the Union that is now experienced by each State already participating in this system of absolute free and unrestricted commerce.* The Dominion Confederation can not do this, because it has not the markets to offer for the absorption of their surplus products. They have been over six years under confederation,

*Mr. Frederick Whympier, the well-known Alpine climber, has published a work on Alaska, through which country he traveled in the year 1865. Mr. Whympier, in this work, favors the idea of joining Canada, and, indeed, the whole of British America, to the United States. He says "we (meaning Englishmen) shall be released from an incubance; they, freed from the trammels of periodical alarms of invasion, and feeling the strength of independence, will develop and grow, and, speaking very plainly and to the point, our commercial relations with them will double and quadruple themselves in value. No one now supposes that, had the United States remained nought but 'our American colonies,' they would have progressed as they have done; and it is equally obvious that our commerce with them must have been restricted in equal ratio. *That it is the destiny of the United States to possess the whole north continent I fully believe.*"

*We find the following sentiment in a recent work by two English army officers: "The North American colonies, unlike any other British colony, lie side by side with a nation whose rapid rise to greatness has no parallel in the history of the world. Rich in all Nature's gifts, and peopled by a race energetic and enterprising in the highest possible degree, the great Western Republic offers a bright contrast to that larger portion of America which still remains under the nominal rule of Great Britain. If, however, we turn to the town of Yarmouth, situated on the western coast of Nova Scotia, and deriving no pecuniary benefit from England, we find a population virtually American, and as such prosperous and energetic. The same remark, slightly modified, holds good regarding the inhabitants of St. John's, the chief city of New Brunswick; in fact, throughout the whole extent of the lower provinces the greatest material prosperity is found in those localities wherein the Yankee element preponderates most strongly."—*The Confederation of British North America*, by Captains Bolton and Weber.

and what is the commercial result? The inter-colonial trade is incredibly small. The official Dominion returns for 1872, the latest received, show the following results for that fiscal year :

INTER-COLONIAL IMPORTS AND EXPORTS FOR 1872.

Provinces.	Imports.	Exports.
Ontario.....	\$12,798	None.
Quebec.....	679,549	\$1,012,708
New Brunswick.....	331,808	189,243
Nova Scotia.....	944,427	524,224
Manitoba.....	None.	41,691
British Columbia.....	None.	None.
Total, 1872.....	1,958,582	1,767,866

The Confederation Government went into operation July 1, 1867. The total inter-colonial imports and exports of that year amounted, according to the Dominion official returns, to the value of \$4,657,570. Instead of increasing, the same official returns show a falling off, in 1872, to \$3,726,418, or nearly twenty-five per cent. And yet one of the most prominent arguments put forth in support of the Confederation was the large increase it would effect in the inter-colonial exchange of domestic products. So far, then, as inter-colonial trade and commerce is concerned, the result is far from being either satisfactory in the past or encouraging for the future. As States in the American Union the colonies would have enjoyed a different experience. During the period since the colonies went into confederation the expansion of the inter-State trade of the United States has been almost incredible. It may be well, however, to quote the official figures to aid the reader in comprehending fully the truth of this statement.

MATERIAL PROGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES IN TEN YEARS.

Taking the official figures of the census as showing the progress of our manufacturing industries, we have the following results :

	1860.	1870.
No. establishments....	140,433	252,148
No. hands employed..	1,311,246	2,053,996
Capital employed, do's	1,009,855 715 2	1,118,208 769
Wages paid, dollars...	378,878,966	775,581,343
Materials used, dollars	1,031,605,092 2	2,488,427,242
Products, value, dollars	1,885,861,676 4	232,325,442

The amazing fact is presented here, confirmed by the censuses of 1860 and 1870, that our manufacturing interests have more than doubled in ten years; *that is, the increase of a single decade since 1860, when the Republican administration was inaugurated and a protective tariff adopted, is equal to the entire increase from the foundation of the Government up to 1860!* And the fact should be stated that the products of our mines, quarries, and fisheries are included in the figures of 1860, and omitted in those of 1870, as we find them so disposed of in the returns for those years. This increase is probably without a parallel, and it may be traced mainly to a judiciously adjusted protective tariff, which collects from foreign products about \$200,000,000 a year, or two-thirds of the entire revenues, and at the same time affords to manufacturing industries just that necessary protection from an excess of importations that would otherwise cramp our manufacturing energies.

Take another illustration of the progress of the last decade. The census shows the following results in our agricultural industries :

	1860.	1870.
No. of farms.....	2,044,077	2,659,985
No. of acres improved.	163,110,720	188,921,099
No. of horses.....	6,249,174	7,145,370
Wheat, bushels.....	173,104,924	287,745,626
Butter, pounds.....	459,681,372	514,092,683

Six hundred and fifteen thousand nine hundred and eight farms were added during the decade, and over twenty-five

million cultivated acres. The number of bushels of wheat annually raised was nearly doubled during the same period, and the product of butter was increased over fifty-four million pounds.

Another illustration may be drawn from our foreign commerce. Our imports and exports in 1860, 1870, and 1873 are as follows:

Fiscal year.	Imports.	Exports.	Total trade.
1860.....	\$362,166,254	\$400,122,296	\$762,288,550
1870.....	462,377,587	450,927,434	913,305,021
1873.....	663,617,147	607,087,891	1,270,705,038

Sometimes, when our good neighbors over the border feel disposed to "pitch into" the "Yankees" on account of their high tariff and like "follies," their leading journals inform their readers that "the protective system has ruined their (our) foreign commerce, and driven United States shipping from the seas." We have shown that our manufactures have doubled in ten years under a protective tariff; and here it is shown that our total annual foreign trade, imports and exports, have risen in value in twelve years from seven hundred million to twelve hundred and seventy million dollars, an increase of over five hundred and eight millions! Can the experience of any other nation afford a parallel to this rapid growth of foreign commerce? And, instead of American shipping having been "swept from the seas," the official returns for the fiscal years 1872 and 1873 show the following tonnage:

	Tons.
1872. Total U. S. shipping.....	4,437,746
1873. Total U. S. shipping.....	4,468,041

Increase 30.295

There is to-day but one other nation (England) whose annual reports show as large a tonnage as is here represented, and the indications now are that the United States will soon distance all competitors in this branch of industry. Iron ship-yards have become an object of special attention, and a lively compe-

tition has sprung into existence for superiority in iron naval architecture. An iron ship, second only in size to the Great Eastern, was quite recently launched in Pennsylvania, the great iron State, and the builder has two others like her in model and magnitude, one of which is nearly ready to launch, and the other is advancing rapidly toward completion. The builder of these large ocean ships says he can produce iron vessels in Pennsylvania at as low a cost as they can be built for in any other part of the world. The proprietors of the iron ship-yards in Wilmington, Del., make a similar statement; and, with our vast resources in iron ore and coal utilized at the same rate of development that has been going on during the last five years, there can not be any doubt that a new era in iron ship-building is now dawning, and that in five years hence American ship-yards will defy competition in the construction of first-class iron ships, both in point of model and cost.

But in nothing is the national growth during the last decade more marked than in the astounding increase and development of our home or inter-State trade and commerce. Upon our lakes, rivers, and in the coasting trade there are nearly three million tons of shipping employed in the exchange of commodities between States, while upon land there are over seventy thousand miles of railway, the growth of which is indicated by the fact that this vast system of rail and steam communication—equal in its entire length to that of all the railways in all the world besides—has doubled in extent during the last seven years.* Yet with all these railway facilities, and this vast amount of tonnage, the commerce and inter-State trade and transportation have expanded beyond their carrying capacity, and one of the most perplexing problems of the day is to know how to meet satisfactorily the exigencies of the country, and give to the growing inter-State transportation that

* Number of miles of railway in 1865, 35,085; number of miles of railway in 1871, 71,109.

relief which is so imperatively demanded.

Again, the rapid expansion of the country is seen in the increase of its wealth. If the number of manufactories and value of their products have doubled in ten years; if the number of farms opened, and of acres plowed, and bushels of wheat and quantities of other agricultural products have multiplied in nearly the same ratio; if our foreign trade has increased 100 per cent. in a little over ten years, and our inter-State commerce has expanded even beyond the facilities of transportation, we might reasonably look for a large increase of actual wealth. But the results go much beyond the most sanguine anticipations. In 1860 the true valuation of the real and personal wealth of the States and Territories was \$16,159,616,068; in 1870 it was \$30,068,518,507, an increase of nearly 100 per cent. in ten years. Census returns in England in 1861 showed that the wealth of the United Kingdom at that time was \$31,500,000,000, and that the increase during the previous ten years was 37 per cent. It should be remembered, too, that in the United States the destruction of property by war during the period indicated was very large, and that the conversion of four millions of slaves from chattels into free citizens removed this item of wealth entirely from the estimates of the census of 1870, while they were counted into the census of 1860 at a valuation of \$400 to \$1,000 a head.

It may be said, then, without fear of contradiction, or even challenge, that there has been no parallel to this increase of wealth in the experience of any nation; and the ratio of increase since 1870, in the industries and in general wealth, has been fully equal to that of the previous decade. The crisis of last autumn was only a ripple, growing, in fact, out of the spirit of over trading. It was only by the way of comparison with our usual prosperity that it could properly be called a crisis; for at its maximum the business actually done every day would have been considered a very pros-

perous state of affairs in almost any other country. The few factories and workshops that stopped are all again in successful operation. There may be, and probably are, mechanics who are not yet at work, but it is not for want of work, for there is an abundance of it for every workman in the country. This idleness comes from that restless spirit of discontent out of which grow those strikes and combinations among workmen to demand higher wages than their work is really worth. We shall always have these lazy, restless drones among us as they have them in European countries, but with far less cause or ground for complaint here, where every department of industry is liberally paid. Aside from this source of idleness all are employed, and the country is to-day in the enjoyment of the same degree of solid prosperity as at any period in its past history. The year of 1874 will show at its close the average result in the amount of manufacturing and agricultural products and in all other industries. Foreign trade will give its usual results; inter-State commerce will continue to increase rapidly in magnitude, and the usual amount of revenue will be paid into the United States Treasury.

After this brief reference to the present industrial condition and prospective future of the country, the reader will be better prepared to go into an intelligent examination of the

RELATIVE MERITS OF RECIPROCITY AND A PERMANENT UNION.

1. *Reciprocity is subject to a termination: a Union would be perpetual.* A treaty of reciprocity must of necessity contain in its construction a provision for its termination, at the instance of either party to the instrument. This alone is a serious drawback to any broad schemes of enterprise by those engaged in international trade. An increase of means to enlarge mining, quarrying, fishing, ship-building, agricultural, or other operations, necessarily involves increased expenditures in the erection of machinery, warehouses, wharves, railways, and other facilities to meet the increased demand for the

products of the various industries. But, under a conviction that the new order of things is liable at any time to be brought to a termination, capitalists will always be cautious and slow to invest their means in improvements which in a few years may be rendered comparatively useless for want of employment, as was the case after the close of the last treaty of reciprocity.

Under a political union and consolidation of the two general governments this emergency would be impossible.* Capitalists on either side would enjoy the fullest confidence in the perpetuity of the various enterprises to which their attention might from time to time be directed, and capital would be drawn for permanent investment to those centers where the deposits of coal and iron are abundant, and invited extensive operations in iron ship-building; where the fisheries promised large and profitable returns; where quarrying in marble, sandstone, plaster-paris, and the various metals and minerals promised reasonable dividends; where extensive dairies and cheese factories could be made productive and profitable; where the agricultural industries could be developed to an unlimited extent, and where unbroken forests invited steam mills and railroads. In a few years the effects of the consolidation would become so complete that the enterprise and expansion of the new States would be coequal with that of the most prosperous of the older ones, and would enlarge and extend the opportunities for profitable industry, and elevate the material condition of every family within the limits of the consolidated commonwealth.

2. *Reciprocity is partial: Union would be complete.* The principles of a reciprocity-treaty must of necessity be limited.

*The desire for annexation is no mere mental aberration arising alone out of the repeal agitation. It is a thought which is ever present to the minds of the people, because of their near proximity to, and commercial intercourse with, the United States. It is not a thought which has filled the vulgar mind alone; it is a thought which has often filled the teeming brain of Mr. Howe himself, and fired him with such enthusiasm that at the thought he has risen from the essayist up to the poet.—*Hall-fax (N. S.) Morning Chronicle*, 1863.

Certain classes of goods under its provisions would pass free of duty from one country to the other, but upon other classes a modified duty would necessarily be imposed, on the basis of reciprocal rates. Custom-houses must of necessity, therefore, be sustained along the border to collect the modified revenues, and to prevent the smuggling of the products of other countries across the boundary. Custom-houses are expensive luxuries which neither party to the treaty would be disposed to indulge in, without imposing a tariff on certain imports to pay the cost of watching smugglers of silks, wines, jewelry, diamonds, and other costly commodities of foreign industry.

Under the proposed union and consolidation the interchange of the commodities of either nation would be as free as the waters of the great lakes and rivers that now separate them, but which would then, by the transportation facilities they would afford, become important auxiliaries in advancing the vast increase of inter-State trade that would necessarily follow close upon the consolidation of these interests. The immeasurable commercial advantages of those great inland seas and rivers can never be fully realized until a continental consolidation of communities and industries occurs, and the immense quantities of the products of the Western interior find a direct and unobstructed northern route* to the sea-board, via Toronto, Montreal, and Quebec, cities that will then rival St. Louis, Chicago, and New York in the magnitude of their transportation facilities and extended foreign commercial relations.

3. *Reciprocity is clogged by enormous expenses, which would be wholly removed by consolidation.* Under the best reciprocity treaty that could be constructed the

*Wheat is liable to heat in its transportation in bulk during the warm season. The depreciation in quality from this cause is often from five to fifteen per cent. Other agricultural products also suffer from the same cause in transportation. In consequence of this the Northern routes will always be preferred during the summer season to the Mississippi, or other Southern river or railroad channels of transportation.

Dominion and the United States would be compelled to maintain a double array of custom-houses, customs stations, customs officials and collectors, with revenue cutters and crews upon the lakes and rivers, and detectives and other Government officials all along the entire length of their extended coterminous frontiers between the Atlantic and the Pacific. Not a dollar's reduction could be made from the present cost of these establishments under a treaty of reciprocity. To check smuggling in prohibited foreign goods, if for no other purpose, these would be indispensable, and they would be only a check after all; but their cost would fall heavily upon each government, while the revenue receipts under the treaty would afford only a mere fraction of the amount.

Under the Union, and one government and one uniform system of laws, this obstructive and expensive paraphernalia would be swept away and the cost saved to the Government. Smuggling would be abolished, and its devotees would turn their attention to some more respectable occupation. There would be no inter-State customs revenues, it is true, but as our commerce would be relieved from its shackles, the increased internal commerce would largely augment our foreign trade, and the increased customs receipts from that source would be vastly more than an equivalent for the former profits of the interior border tariffs.

4. *Under Reciprocity there would be two general Governments to sustain: Under the Union only one.* Europe is cursed with an almost interminable array of independent governments, each supporting, at the expense of the people, a system of enormous salaries, an extensive army, and an expensive navy. Not a single individual of all these thousands of officials is a producer, but is living at the cost of the overtaxed communities. If there is one blessing above all the others enjoyed by English-speaking peoples of the New World it is the blessing of cheap government; and anything that tends to perpetuate that condition and

enhance its importance, by further reduction of its cost, strengthens the assurances of a prosperous and happy future.

The two governments are now nearly alike in their political construction.* The ballot-box is now a fixed fact in England, and will be in the Dominion immediately; the elective principle is general, and with one or two moves more the Ottawa and the Washington Governments and administrations will be assimilated in all the principles of pure Republicanism, while the local governments of the colonies and the several States will be as nearly alike as those of the several States now are. On this score then there can absolutely be no basis for a reasonable objection to a union and consolidation which will materially reduce the cost, to the people, of the present condition of duplicated political machinery, and assemble the representatives of the new States in Washington instead of Ottawa, as being the more central of the two localities, and affording a finer winter climate.

In short, the advantages of a permanent Union over Reciprocity are almost innumerable; and while a few only have been alluded to, and that only in the briefest manner possible, the mere reference to these may incline the reader to a more thorough investigation of this im-

* "To the great bulk of the people loyalty is like the mercury in the barometer. As in the barometer, the mercury rises or falls according as the atmosphere is light or heavy, so among the people loyalty rises or falls according as the weight of the burdens which they bear is lighter or heavier. Loyalty with the people in our days is purely a question of pounds, shillings, and pence. Increase the taxation, and the loyalty diminishes; lighten it, and the loyalty grows again. We are not speaking now of what ought to be; we are just stating what is. The view of loyalty which we take is one that is borne out by historical facts, extending over hundreds of years. * * * We have instanced these things, not because we wish to weaken the loyalty of this Province, or of the Dominion, but because we wish, when 'loyalty' is spoken of, to know what it is and of what value. We are every day told that the issue of the contest in which we are engaged is narrowing to either British connection (or confederation) or annexation. In view of such an alternative being placed before us, and to prevent us, like the ass, from being placed between two bundles of hay, we desire—and we are sure the public desires—to examine the merits of both, and choose accordingly."—*Halifax (N. S.) Morning Chronicle*.

portant branch of the subject under consideration.

In a further investigation of this important problem, in its various aspects, we are led, naturally, to a consideration of

THE COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGES OF A UNION IN ITS EFFECTS UPON EACH SIDE OF THE BOUNDARY.

The proposed political consolidation of the continent would be productive of grand results to both branches of the Anglo-Saxon race. In union there is strength, and the combination of the physical and moral energies of these progressive and aggressive communities would be felt for good far beyond the confines of their own Commonwealth. England, the great pioneer in civilization, has performed a noble part, and done it well, in penetrating into the strongholds of darkness and barbarism, and lifting the world up to a higher scale of life and liberty. If now she yields to her offspring the privilege of combining to advance those better principles of society which she has inaugurated and so successfully sustained, may they not accept the mission in good faith, and make their efforts the key-note to stimulate other powers to greater exertions in the cause of humanity?

On the score of profitable enterprise, the Union would confer large benefits on either country by widening the fields and increasing the opportunities for industry.

But it must be conceded that it is to the new States the richer harvest of solid blessings would come. They would have opened for their trade the markets of over forty millions of buyers, without a tariff or custom-house obstruction, while the older States would have the markets of only four millions of people added to their former sources. The difference in favor of the colonies would therefore be as forty is to four. The United States afford the great natural markets for the disposal of the surplus products of the provinces.* It was so

proved during the Reciprocity Treaty and is so conceded now by their merchants and statesmen, and was "confirmed by the unsuccessful efforts of the Canadians, after reciprocity closed, to negotiate treaties of commerce in a southward direction with Cuba, the West Indies, Mexico, Brazil, as well as other countries in South America, and to extend their trade with India and China. The distance to Cuba from Montreal, by way of the St. Lawrence, is at least three times as great as through the United States."*

But the crowning advantage which a Union would bring to the provinces would be the lifting of the burden of the American tariff from their commerce. It is now a settled principle in international commerce that the larger supply controls the markets and fixes the prices. The Hon. Mr. Field, of Michigan, in a speech in Congress on the 28th of March, 1874, took a correct view of this problem when he said :

"The revenue derived from imports is paid almost wholly by foreign labor. I have heard gentlemen here speak of the burdens imposed upon the American people by tariff taxation, but this is a great mistake. The revenue derived

they enjoy without restriction the benefit of the United States markets. Unless this country admits their products free of duty there is a long actual list of them, and a still longer possible list, that can have no market at all. They may sell grain and provisions and fish to England and other European countries, but the articles that won't bear three thousand miles of transportation must go without sale so long as the United States keeps up a high rate of import duty. Thus they are not masters of their own destiny. They can not send cabbages or pumpkins, nor turkeys and chickens and fresh meats, nor working cattle and horses, nor any manufactures of cotton or wool or iron, neither their coal, nor lime, nor gypsum, nor building stone, across the broad Atlantic for a market. All these and a thousand other nameless articles, the product of farm and household industries, can find no market except in the contiguous territory of the United States; and if shut out there, they are confined to a glutted and restricted home market, where competition results in stagnation and substantial repression of production.

This brief, naked statement discloses at a glance the political necessity which now presses, and will always press, upon the British American colonies to desire and seek a change of their condition. It does not now exist for the first time. It has always existed--*New York Sun*.

* The British Provinces can never enjoy anything approaching the prosperity to which their territorial situation entitles them until

† Hon. Israel T. Hatch's Report on "Our Commercial Relations with the Dominion of Canada," page 10.

from imports is wrung from the hands of foreign producers. When they approach our markets with the products of their labor, they are required to call at the captain's office and settle the duties which our tariff requires. It is like the toll which is sometimes paid in crossing a bridge that leads to a market. That toll comes from the person who seeks that market, the producer, not the consumer. And so with the products of foreign labor. Before they can be laid down or sold to consumers in our markets the producer is required to call at the custom-house and settle the duties. The receipts into the Treasury from this source during the last fiscal year have been \$184,929,041."

Of this sum about \$9,000,000 in gold, or over \$10,000,000 in currency was paid by the labor of producers in the Dominion of Canada. In Hon. Israel T. Hatch's report made to the Secretary of the United States Treasury and submitted to Congress January 12, 1869, the writer says: "It is a significant and important consideration that, during the whole existence of the reciprocity treaty, a period of ten years, the United States collected \$750,000, while in the *two fiscal years* elapsed since its termination, instead of quarter of a million, *we have collected* about fourteen million dollars, in currency." The increase in the imports from the Dominion since that period has brought the average revenue receipts from provincial products up to about *ten million dollars per annum*. This sum comes each year from the labor of our provincial neighbors, and goes into the National Treasury. "The man who *must* go to any market, must pay the cost of getting there, let it take what form it may."* But in order to afford, if necessary, more convincing evidence that the Canadian producer pays the American duties on goods exported to the United States, we shall call the United States revenue collectors from border ports upon the stand and hear their testimony.

*Dr. H. C. Carey's "Principles of Social Science," condensed edition, chapter 10, page 141.

Mr. Hatch, in preparing his report for Congress, already referred to, wrote to the collectors at customs ports in northern New York and Ohio, asking whether Canadian goods affected the prices in United States markets, and upon whom the payment of the American duties on Canadian importations fell. The following are extracts from their letters in reply to his inquiry:

From the collector at Ogdensburg, New York: "The supply and demand in the United States is so much larger than in Canada that importations from there affect our markets but little."

The collector at Plattsburg, New York, says: "I submit the following statement as an illustration applicable very generally to all importations made into this district. This past spring (1868) large quantities of potatoes have been imported into this district, and the duty of 25 cents per bushel, gold, paid by the Canadian seller or exporter, as the sale has generally been perfected on the United States side of the boundary line, duties paid. The American speculator buying at such prices as to successfully compete with sellers in the Boston market, does the consumer of the imported potatoes pay the duty to the United States when he purchases the potatoes at the same price that another pays for the American products? If the Canadian can not export his goods at a profit, or the speculator can not buy in the foreign market, and pay the duty, at a price that he can sell at in the American market at a profit, he does not purchase. The same can be said in relation to grain, and in fact of nearly all importations into this district."

The collector at Cleveland, Ohio, remarks: "The chief articles of importation at this port are lumber and barley. The lumber market here is entirely controlled by the Saginaw market, and Canadian markets do not *in the least* influence us. The Canadian market, to a great extent, is controlled by American markets, and the result is that the Canadian producer has to conform his prices to our market figures here. This virtu-

ally makes the Canadian pay the duties on foreign merchandise imported here, as he is compelled to sell his goods so as to enable the importer to pay the duties and still not overshoot the American market. The purchaser, in buying Canadian products, always makes allowance for the duties, and the Canadian in his sales deducts the amount, and thus in reality pays the duty himself."

The collector at Oswego, N. Y., says: "The effect of the abnegation of the reciprocity treaty, in my opinion, has been the addition of several million dollars to the United States revenue at the expense of our Canadian friends. As it now is the import duty is paid by the Canadian producer or manufacturer, *and not by the American consumer*. Any reduction in the rate of duties on importations from Canada would benefit them just so much, and would not lower the market value here."

The collector at Buffalo, N. Y., remarks: "The termination of the treaty of reciprocity between the United States and Canadian Provinces, and the subsequent imposition of duties under the tariff enactments on articles of importation, has been a source of large revenue to the United States Government, *the burden of which has been borne by the foreign producer or manufacturer*, and any abatement or reduction of rates would, of course, redound to the advantage of such producer or manufacturer, and would not tend to reduce the value of the article imported in this market. Our market establishes the price, or limits the same, for such products or manufactures as come into competition with home products or manufactures; and * * * any rate of duty established on such articles of importation must necessarily fall upon the producer."

Mr. Hatch, who has a large experience in our international commerce, gives it as his conviction that "nine-tenths of the Canadian exports to the United States consist of products of the forest, animals and their products, and the products of the farm. They do not sen-

sibly affect our markets, and are less in value than those of any agricultural State in the West. *They have no more perceptible effect on our markets than the waters of a stream collected from a small surface have upon our inland seas.*"

By the union and proposed consolidation of Colonial and American interests this burden would be forever removed from the commerce of our neighbors, and their inter-State trade would increase to the utmost capacity of production. Their lines of railways would soon be crowded with travel and transportation; dividends would be doubled, and in many cases quadrupled; new lines would be built; the inter-colonial railway line would be completed, equipped, and become in a few years a paying enterprise; the Canadian and the United States Northern Pacific railroads would be consolidated, and one through line would become an absolute necessity, the completion of which could not be delayed.* It would pass through Columbia and Washington Territory on the Pacific, thence eastward on either side of the forty ninth parallel to Dakota or Minnesota, across that State to Lake Superior, and through Western and Eastern Canada, giving the Canadian

* A railway through British territory, between the Atlantic and the Pacific, is impracticable, if not impossible. The country was thoroughly explored by the Palisser expedition of royal engineers a few years before the confederation of the colonies. Captain Palisser states, in his report to the British Government, that "the difficulty of direct communication between Canada and the Saskatchewan country, as compared with the comparatively easy route through the United States by St. Paul's, renders it very unlikely that the great work of constructing a road across the continent can be solely the result of British enterprise."—*British Blue Book*

When asked by the Duke of Newcastle to state his opinion in reference to the direct continuation of a railway through British territory, Captain Palisser answered: "I can not recommend the Imperial Government to countenance or lend support to any scheme for constructing, or, it may be said, forcing, a thoroughfare by this line of route, (from Lake Superior to Lake Winnipeg.) * * * Nor can I advise such heavy expenditure as would necessarily attend the construction of any exclusively British line of road between Canada and the Red river settlement."—*Rawlings' Atlantic and Pacific*, page 149. London, 1865

"It being impossible to do this wholly and entirely within the boundaries of British territory, the natural and physical features presenting insuperable obstacles, * * * we must therefore look to the United States for a railway passage for a portion of its route."—*Rawlings*, pages 149 and 150.

cities the benefit of the largest portion of the vast transportation and travel between the seaboard and the Northwestern and Pacific States. This is the true theory of the development of the Provinces and the great Northern and Northwestern portion of the continent.

A SEARCH FOR POSSIBLE OBJECTIONS TO THE UNION.

It is difficult to see how any serious opposition can find a basis for an argument, except it be the argument used by the wife of a Scotch clergyman from Nova Scotia when on a visit to Washington recently with her husband. The husband introduced the subject of reciprocity, when the writer replied that he believed there was something far better than reciprocity in store for the provinces, and that was a Union with the States upon an absolute equality as new States. The lady brought her foot to the floor with a muscular force, uttering at the same time the word "Never!" with an emphasis that settled the question. That was conclusive. There was no further argument required; certainly there was none attempted on that occasion. But we are supposed now to be discussing this great problem with reasonable intellects. The Hon. George Brown, of Toronto, and the Hon. Mr. Smith, Minister of Marine, have had a cordial welcome to Washington, and their arguments are receiving the most careful consideration.

The Hon. Mr. Moss in a speech delivered in the Ottawa Commons, a few days ago, said: "He strongly advocated the renewal of reciprocity, but did not think the mere renewal would satisfy the just demands of our people. We had now many manufactures that did not formerly exist, which required consideration. Reciprocity did not mean annexation; if it did, he wanted no reciprocity. [Cheers.] While he believed in the great destiny of the United States, he had stronger faith in his native land, [cheers,] hoping to see her take her place at some future time among the nations of the earth, not to pass from a short period of colonial dependence into absorption into

the American Republic." [Great cheering.]

Mr. Moss is right in part: reciprocity can not "satisfy the just demands of the people." Their best interests require more. They point to permanent consolidation. But that does not "mean annexation;" it means UNION and an absolute equality of States. It is as much an annexation of the States as of the Dominion. It does not mean "absorption" any more than the union of New York or California with the other States meant absorption. It is a union and harmonious consolidation of governments and material interests, and an elevation from colonial to national existence,* no longer to have the best interests of the people trifled or tampered with, either by England or the United States, in the settlement of their own international controversies—an experience of not unfrequent occurrence in the past—and that without remedy, other than silent submission. If Mr. Moss really desires "to see his native land take her place among the nations of the earth" how better than as a great continental national unit? Large hearted English statesmen have had just such a vision. Hear Mr. Bright, in a speech at Rochdale:

"I should rather say that, if a man had a great heart within him, *he would rather look forward to the day when, from the point of land which is habitable nearest to the Pole to the shores of the great Gulf, the whole of that vast continent might become one great confederation of States—without a great army, and without a great navy—not mixing itself up with the entanglements of European politics—without a custom-house inside, through the whole length and breadth of the territory, and with freedom everywhere. Such a confederation would afford at*

* The new Scandinavian idea means a combination of the three northern countries—Sweden, Norway, and Denmark—into one country, Scandinavia. It intends to make the three different nations which inhabit these countries one people, and the three different States which these nations have established one political body. It aspires to be the inaugurator of a new people and the founder of a new State. It is an idea of great pretensions and golden promises.—*Galaxy for May.*

least some hope that a man is not forsaken of Heaven, and that the future of our race may be better than the past." What a depth and breadth of unselfish statesmanship is there in these sentiments! The views of Mr. Moss are not the sentiments of the people of the provinces. Their own press can be quoted to any extent showing that a majority, and in some provinces nine-tenths of the people are in favor of a peaceable union with the States. If a different sentiment exists at all it will be found mainly among officials, and there only because of their position. But even there it will be found that the real sentiment of the majority is decidedly in favor of the Union, while *all* admit that the material interests can best be advanced by consolidation and a uniform continental system of laws. The speeches on the Murray resolutions in the Nova Scotia, and the Cudlip resolutions in the New Brunswick legislature, and the debates in the legislatures of all the provinces outside of the Canadas proper clearly indicate the public desire for closer relations with the United States. At Ottawa, when the Parliament was convened on the 13th of August last, the writer, in conversation with a large number of members, found a great unanimity of sentiment and even enthusiasm in favor of a Union; but the wish was frequently accompanied with an expression of grave doubts as to its probability, on the ground of their present relations to England.

In looking further for intelligent and unselfish opinion it is difficult to fix upon any class of people who would oppose the movement. Objections are occasionally made on the ground that the Union would be too large, and would ultimately fall in pieces. The sun, too, may fail to give light, and the earth be rent into fragments by earthquakes.*

* Sir C. W. Dilke, M. P., in his *Greater Britain*, says: "Men are to be found who ask whether a break-up of the Union is not still probable—whether the Pacific States are not likely to secede from the Atlantic. Some even contend for the general principle that 'Amer-

ica must go to pieces; she is too big.' It is small powers, not great ones, that have become impossible; the unification of Germany is in this respect but the dawn of a new era. The great countries of to-day are smaller than were the smallest of a few hundred years ago. Lewes was farther from London in 1700 than Edinburgh is now. New York and San Francisco will in 1870 be nearer to each other than Canton and Peking. From the point of view of mere size, there is more likelihood of England entering the Union than of California seceding from it."—Page 199.

But if England can successfully manage two or three hundred millions of people, scattered over the four quarters of the globe, or China can preserve her unity with a population of four hundred millions of subjects who know nothing of enlightened government, it is reasonable to believe that the unity of the Anglo-American communities would be practicable, even if it embraced the entire continent densely populated. Others may object on the mistaken impression that there is more crime, drunkenness, and mob law in the United States than elsewhere. But the records of crime in Great Britain and other European countries are not published daily over this continent, by telegraph and the press, and we are ignorant of their magnitude. Even in the American colonies a careful record of the facts will show quite as much crime—the difference in population considered—as the United States. And the marvel is, that with the outlaws and criminals of other countries thrust upon us, that the morals, safety, and peace of society are so well preserved.

Then who has a solid argument to offer in opposition to the movement?

The railroad and steamboat interests of the colonies will not be likely to oppose a measure that can not fail to double their dividends. The manufacturers of which Mr. Moss speaks would hail the event with joy, for the markets of forty millions of people and unrestricted competition would be a God-send to them. The writer, when on an excursion through the provinces last summer, went into a recently established furniture and wooden-ware manufactory in New Glasgow, Nova Scotia. The proprietors, two brothers, were then building a thousand child's carriages. We

ica must go to pieces; she is too big.' It is small powers, not great ones, that have become impossible; the unification of Germany is in this respect but the dawn of a new era. The great countries of to-day are smaller than were the smallest of a few hundred years ago. Lewes was farther from London in 1700 than Edinburgh is now. New York and San Francisco will in 1870 be nearer to each other than Canton and Peking. From the point of view of mere size, there is more likelihood of England entering the Union than of California seceding from it."—Page 199.

inquired where they expected to find a market for so many. "Through the provinces and in the United States," was the reply. "What! pay the duties and sell at a profit in the States?" "Certainly; but if the duties were removed we could soon make a fortune at the business; as it is we make only a living." These views are entertained very generally among manufacturers in the colonies. They want a wider scope for their enterprise. The new States would become a great hive of industry.

The merchants are certainly not among the opponents of the Union, for they are too far-seeing not to know where their interests lie. The writer received a letter to-day (April 9) from one of the heaviest merchants in the colonies, inclosing Mr. Moss' speech, from which the foregoing quotation is made. The writer says: "As our leaders assume such large proportions, (according to the inclosed speeches,) would it not be well for your Government to inform them that if *reciprocity would do us a little good, a complete UNION would do more*, and that you would prefer to give the whole loaf or none." There is the great fact in a nut shell: the business men do not want reciprocity with its liabilities to legislative changes or a sudden termination; but they do desire a permanent Union, upon which they could lay the foundations of future enterprise without fear of interruptions in the commercial relations on either side of the boundary lines.

The farmers are certainly shrewd enough not to oppose the Union, as the removal of the duties on agricultural products would be just so much more profit on their labor. They made little fortunes under the operations of the old reciprocity treaty; paid off the mortgages upon their farms, and improved their grounds and buildings. But they don't want to be tripped up suddenly again by the termination of a treaty; and they are now pretty harmonious in favor of the permanent Union of the provinces and the States.

Then who are opposed to the change?

Certainly not the shipping interests, for a Union will give them free access to over one hundred and forty thousand miles of river, lake, bay, and ocean coast line from which, as coasters, they are now excluded.* Not the mining interests, for the markets of the American Union is their main dependence, but it now costs them seventy-five cents a ton duty to get to them.

Certainly the lumber merchants and shippers, and all connected with this branch of industry, would hail the change, as the 15 to 20 per cent. duty which they are now compelled to pay in duties into the American Treasury would then go into their own pockets. The revenue thus collected from foreign (mainly Canadian) lumber during the last fiscal year amounted to \$1,483,799, all of which would have been additional profits to the producers under the proposed arrangement.

HOW CAN THE UNION BE CONSUMMATED?

Not by delays. These are always a sign of weakness. The British and the Ottawa Parliaments and the Congress of the United States are now in session. England will certainly not oppose a movement by her American colonists which all admit to be for their material prosperity. An initiatory movement on the part of those most deeply interested in obtaining closer relations with the United States—a delegation to Washington, some practical negotiation and judicious diplomacy, a prompt action on the part of the two Parliaments and Congress—and six months hence the question will be ready for submission to the people for their decision by a public vote.

By such action the greatest honor and glory would be conferred upon England in advising and leading her American dependencies to closer relations with their neighbors; the colonies would at once rise from the condition of mere dependencies of a distant Government,

* The vessels owned on either side of the boundary are now prohibited from coasting and carrying freight from port to port on the other side.

and enter upon a career of great national prosperity as States in the Union on a perfect equality each with all the others, and guided to a high destiny by a Government whose care for the moral, intel-

lectual, and material interests of its sovereign people is popularly recognized on both hemispheres as in advance of all others in any quarter of the world.

THE REPEAL OF THE USURY LAW.

We are opposed to corruption ; we are opposed to extortion ; we are opposed to every form of injury and oppression which the ill-use of money can inflict upon society ; and for this reason we are opposed to the existence of usury laws. If it could be clearly demonstrated that these laws prevent the cheats of the money-changers and strengthen the business relations of the country no one could say aught against them. But we apprehend that the converse is indisputably true, and hence we seriously regret the failure of the bill to repeal these laws, which was introduced in our last Legislature.

"What!" says the banker, "would you rob the poor man of his only protection against the oppressive avarice of the rich? Would you bind labor hand and foot, and make it the very slave of capital?" But underneath these tones of holy remonstrance we can hear the jingle of the ducats, and beneath the cloak of Antonis see Shylock's gaberline. No class of men can so well afford to cry out against the repeal of the usury laws, for none is so much benefited by them. For, repeal those laws, and you sweep away a large per centage of the deposits left with them by timorous capitalists, who are more willing to deposit at less than legal interest when deemed certain than make uncertain ventures for illegal gains, and thus the profits of bankers would be cut short. "Oh! but how can we be benefited by the usury laws?" says the banker. "To offend against those laws would work a forfeiture of our charter, and how can we charge more than legal interest?" To business men well versed in the manipulations of money-lending it is well known that banking corporations do a vast amount of loaning offensively usurious. A goes

to the bank to negotiate a loan and offers six per cent., which is legal interest. The bank refuses, because a large share of the money used for this purpose is deposited by customers, for which four and five per cent. is paid, and which may be drawn out on demand. Six per cent. would leave too small a profit, and so they tell the borrower they lack the money, but B, a wealthy broker just across the street, can probably accommodate him. A immediately enters the counting-room of B, and negotiates his loan at ten per cent. Now, B is only the agent of the bank, and the bank has really lent the money, but through the hands of a third person to escape detection. True, the contract is illegal, and at law the effect the same whether loaned by the officers at the bank or by the agent in question ; but the chances of exposure are infinitely lessened, and thus the banks fatten on illegal gains without forfeiting their charters.

But banks are not the only money-lenders whose business the usury laws strengthen to monopoly. Hundreds of individuals who count their wealth by millions appreciate the benefits of the present system, and deprecate a change. But, it may be asked, what will be gained by the repeal of these laws? We answer, the gain then is in having laws harmonize with the rights and necessities of the people. Any law which attempts to regulate the rate of the loan of money infringes upon the personal rights of the citizen, injuriously affects commerce, and directly solicits illegality and fraud.

The Constitution of the United States, in limiting the powers of the several States, denies to them the right to enact laws "impairing the obligation of contracts." But does not a usury law—indirectly, it is true, but substantially—

effect this? Does it not deprive the citizen, partially at least, of his right to bargain as he pleases with his own property? It is true there are some laws now in force deemed perfectly just which seem equally to conflict with the right of making contracts, such, for example, as the statute of frauds, which requires certain contracts to be expressed in writing, signed by the party to be charged therewith. But this law operates upon different principles, and produces different and far more salutary effects. This law concerns not so much the terms of the contract as the *evidence* that any contract was made at all. It affects the courts more in enabling them to decide upon the existence of contracts than it protects individuals from injudicious bargains. In fact, it never was intended to protect individuals from contracts, however injudicious, so long as they were not induced by fraud and had some consideration to support them, but rather to establish a rule of evidence, which the weakness of memory or the perjury of witnesses could neither gainsay nor destroy. Such laws, therefore, are sanctioned by the broadest interests of society and the soundest principles of government. But it is far otherwise with a usury law. Such a law, instead of leaving the parties free to make their own conditions, concerns itself directly with the terms of the contract, and arbitrarily sets a price upon another man's property, beyond which it is criminal to go. But why should a law thus concern itself with the terms of our contracts? In anything else than money this interference would be deemed intolerable. If I enter a picture-gallery to make a few selections, have I not a constitutional right to offer as much as I please for them? And has not the vendor an equal constitutional right to accept the price so offered? It may be that I have offered twice or thrice the value of the picture, but does this impair the legality of the contract? It may be that I deem myself a better judge of such matters than the dealer. I may think that in the bold expression

and perfect shading of the painting I can detect the touch of a Raphael or a Michael Angelo. A thousand fancies may distort the real value of the picture to my admiring eyes, and induce the extravagant price I offer. But as long as no deception is used by the seller, and fraud is absent from the contract, the law wisely judges the contract to be a fair one, and will not make it void for mere inadequacy of consideration. But why is such a contract less criminal or any more to be enforced than one for the use of money at any rate of interest the parties may stipulate? All the essential elements inhere in the latter as well as in the former contract, namely, the want and the assent of the contracting parties.

But it is said that the public welfare demands the continuance of the usury laws. Then why did England, year after year, exempt from their operation certain classes of contracts and finally abolish them entirely? Nothing can be more instructive than the history of England's usury laws and the effect which their repeal produced upon her business relations. Usury laws were in force there from the reign of Queen Anne to that of William the Fourth. The statute of 12th Anne, chapter 16, which was the chief usury act in England, provided that all loans of money at a higher rate of interest than five per cent. should be void. This law was rigidly enforced. Every effort was made to evade its prohibitions; sometimes by substituting one contract for another; sometimes by giving a commission or a discount; sometimes by a transfer of stock. But the courts invariably stripped these contracts of their disguises, and whenever it was found that the real object of the parties was to give and take more than five per cent., whatever the form of the contract might be, it was held null and void. If ever a usury law was well tested it was this old statute of 12 Anne. But gradually its severities were relaxed. The act of 3 and 4 William 4, c. 98, made the first innovation, which provided, among other

things, that all bills of exchange and promissory notes not having more than three months to run should be exempt from the usury laws. Here was a relaxation of those laws which we are told are so vital to the welfare of society. But was society injured or commercial affairs injuriously affected? Far otherwise. The change was so decidedly beneficial that a subsequent act, that of 1 Victoria, c. 80, extended the time of such bills and notes twelve months, and by a still later statute, that of 2 and 3 Victoria, c. 37, it was enacted that "No bill or note not having more than twelve months to run, nor any contract for the loan or forbearance of not more than £10 sterling, shall be void by reason of the usury laws; provided that the act shall not extend to the loan or forbearance of money on the security of any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, or any estate or interest therein." This act was to expire by its own limitation January 1, 1842; but it was revived year after year, and kept in force till 1856; until finally, by act of 17 and 18 Victoria, c. 90, the usury laws were totally abolished, and contracts for the use of money, like all others, were left to the discretion of the parties.

Now, what stronger argument can be urged in favor of the repeal of our usury laws than is furnished here? If these laws are so necessary and their repeal so disastrous to the public welfare, why did England, year after year, exempt from their operation certain classes of contracts, constantly expanding her exemptions until at last they were totally repealed? Surely, if the effect of repeal, either partial or total, had been prejudicial to British interests no such acts would have been enacted. For no statesmen watch more keenly the public prosperity, and labor more assiduously for its promotion, than the British statesmen. Neither can it be said that the social and commercial wants of our country are so different from those of England that a different effect would be experienced here from what was felt in that country. The laws of supply and

demand in every country are the same and are affected by the same conditions. The only difference there could be arises from this fact, that in England *mechanics* would not so universally make investments, because by English law they are prohibited from practicing any trade until after they have served an apprenticeship of seven years; and hence, in particular *trades* as much money would not be borrowed for investment. But in no other respect would a difference be manifested.

But we need not rely upon British precedent, solely, to prove the injurious effects of usury laws. During the middle ages usury laws were at the highest point of rigor, *any* interest being deemed usurious, and totally prohibited. But under this blighting interdiction—more fatal than the famous Berlin decree of Napoleon—commerce literally withered away. The only people who carried on commercial enterprises were the Jews and Lombards. All other nations shrank from their employments as unsafe or unworthy their attention. It is true this general decline was the effect of total and not partial prohibition of interest taking, and that permission to take interest, grounded in prudent regulation, would not have affected commerce so disastrously. But even what might be called prudent regulation (if, indeed, any regulation can be called prudent which has even a *tendency* to hinder commercial enterprise) is inconsistent with the broadest growth of commercial prosperity; and with reason. For short credit is the very life of commerce, and whenever this is affected, by whatever means, (as usury laws must necessarily affect it,) commerce is inevitably the sufferer. And so just have these reasonings ever been held, and so true to the experienced of all mankind, that among all nations—the United States and all—loans in bottomry and respondentia bonds, which admit of 10, 20, and even 50 per cent. are not only tolerated by public sentiment but actually imposed by courts of justice.

True, it is only the extreme hazard

to which the lender's investment is subjected that justifies such interest; but why not apply the same principle to every contract for the use of money? There are dangers by land as well as by sea. There are incendiaries and robbers and peculations and frauds; and embarrassments and failures occasioned by these; and these hazards should be suffered to affect the rate of interest as well as the dangers that darken the deep. But, unfortunately, this is not so. The principle that supports all interest, namely, the inconvenience of the lender and the hazard run, is recognized in maritime transactions as absolutely vital to successful commerce, but utterly repudiated and sacrificed in any other business relation. But why this shameful inconsistency? Principles can work only legitimate results. Caprice alone is dangerous. But with so just a principle to regulate the price of money caprice could not display her trickery. It is only when elements are displaced that they are properly discordant. But when things work by their natural bias, whether commerce, or manufactures, or money or anything else, they preserve their proper relations to their surroundings, and so help to keep up the equilibrium of all.

But aside from these considerations a usury law creates needless and profitless inconsistency. In the administration of a great judicial system extending over vast and diversified interests, and, by reason of its relations with other states and countries, interwoven with numerous complications, some inconsistencies are tolerable because they are unavoidable. But every *useless* inconsistency ought to be indicated. Such a one we are about to consider. By a rule of universal application a contract in respect to its nature, validity, obligation, and interpretation is to be governed by the law of the place where it is to be executed. And this, it is said, because "it is in conformity to the presumed intention of the parties." Thus a contract made in Pennsylvania, but to be performed in France, is to be governed by

the laws of France. If made in Pennsylvania but to be performed in California, it is to be governed by the laws of California. Accordingly, a note drawn in Pennsylvania, where the rate of interest is fixed at 6 per cent., but made payable in California where the rate is 10 per cent., if no particular rate be specified, draws interest at the latter rate; and if, upon presentment made at the place where payable, payment is refused, suit can be brought in the courts of Pennsylvania, and a recovery enforced for the 10 per cent. interest, despite our 6 per cent. usury law. Is not here a glaring inconsistency? The state will enforce *foreign* law against its own citizens and give validity to their contracts, because such is the "presumed intention of the parties;" but will not enforce the same contracts, made with the same intentions, by the same parties, and just as binding in point of moral obligation, by virtue of her own law. It is true it can be said that in the former instance the relations of States, commerce, and national comity demand the application of the principle, and that the rule pertains not to interest only, but to every class of contract. Be it so, be it so; but here is a glaring inconsistency nevertheless, and as needless as it is glaring. Remove the usury law, and this inconsistency at once will disappear, and the public will be benefited by the change.

But again. A usury law is unjust, because it considers the condition of only one of the contracting parties. As said before, the only true and natural basis of interest is the inconvenience of the lender and the hazard run; but the usury laws never stop to consider either of these relations as they affect the lender, but only to look at the wants of the borrower, and to be sure that he is protected arbitrarily fix the limit of interest at 6 per cent. Is such legislation just or consistent with our principles of equality? But it may be urged that the chief good of usury laws is in this, that it loosens the grip of avarice and extortion. We are told that there are thousands of capitalists who would gladly

take advantage of the sorest needs of their embarrassed neighbors, and glut their avarice with extortionate gains, but by using the usury laws these unfortunates might defeat such shameful greed. But in doing so would they not commit another and scarcely less execrable deed themselves? An honorable man feels bound to the utmost limit of his compact. He will not shirk responsibilities, nor measure his obligations by the exact bounds of legal rules. To him a violation of plighted faith inflicts a wound more deep and deadly than a foeman's sword. But to take advantage of the usury laws he must violate that compact; he must trample honor down, and exchange the dignity of manhood for meanness of spirit and the rags of shame. In which event is honor most debauched and conscience most demoralized?

But there is another view which deserves especial prominence. The repeal of usury laws would inevitably cheapen loans. Not at first, indeed, for avarice, like the untamed horse, plunges most fiercely when at first set free. No great reformation or change in any extensive system at first produces those broad and permanent results which later experience only can evolve. But though avarice might run to wanton lengths of riot in the first moments of its freedom, it would soon be restrained to moderation by natural causes. Ultimately its chances for extortion would be largely diminished, and active competition would effect the change. The legitimate effect of usury laws is to tie up money in the hands of the more honorable capitalists, or at least to restrict the loaning of it to their less conscientious brethren. But reverse these restrictions and lenders will rapidly multiply, and in proportion as they multiply rates will be reduced by the laws of competition, which are as invariable in their effects as the laws of gravitation.

But it may be asked how can the repeal of the usury laws multiply lenders. Capitalists are not made by laws nor by the repeal of laws; but by personal suc-

cess in business; and if the repeal of these laws does not increase and distribute money, how can it be said to increase the number of lenders? While it is true that the repeal of these laws would not distribute nor add one dollar to the existing wealth of the people, it would, nevertheless, increase the number of lenders. For now there is a large class of moderate capitalists either too conscientious or too timid to violate the law by making loans at more than six per cent. who deposit their moneys in bank, and thus put in their control the general loaning to the masses. But these same capitalists, if allowed to make their own contracts, would put their moneys into market, and although they might at first charge more than six per cent., yet, coming into the ranks of the lenders, they would increase their number, and render the general fund from which loans are made more accessible, and thus, by exciting competition, bring down the rate of interest.

But whether these results would follow or not, a few years' experience could work no harm. The repeal of these laws certainly could not affect the more material elements of life, as light and heat, and harvest, nor could business greatly suffer if at all. Facts form the basis of financial and other systems precisely as they do of science. Then give us new experience that facts may hereafter guide.

W. J. MILLIKEN.

ARTIFICIAL LIMBS.—Numerous applications for artificial limbs and commutation have been received by the Surgeon General from parties who have already had their claims allowed since the passage of the act of June 17, 1870. The applications are made by pensioners who are evidently under the impression that the term of five years mentioned in the act has expired. No person will be entitled to a *second* limb or commutation order until June 17, 1875. Pensioners should bear this fact in mind.

GERMANY has adopted the metrical system for the measurement of distances.

THE POSTAL TELEGRAPH.

REPORT OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE
ON POST OFFICES AND POST ROADS.

The committee introduces their report by a statement of the magnitude of the telegraph business in this country as follows :

In 1845 Congress made an appropriation for the construction of the first telegraph line ever built. The Government doubted the success of the experiment. Private parties better understanding the capabilities of the telegraph and foreseeing its power and importance, extended lines in every direction, until in 1874 a network of about 170,000 miles of telegraph wire is thrown over the whole country, binding North with South, East with West, reaching through every State and into the remotest Territory. Over these lines there are sent about 20,000,000 press, commercial, and social messages a year. No daily paper could live without its telegraphic news, for the telegrams are always the first, often the only, part of the paper read.

Then follows a very careful and able review of the system of telegraphy which prevails in the United States, its importance, and its relations to the social and business interests of the people, its unrestrained power, its exorbitant charges which fall as a burdensome tax upon the people. The legislation which has been had on the subject, the duty and power of the Government, and of its relations to the press the committee says :

Every leading daily paper in the country obtains its telegraphic dispatches from two allied associations—the New York Associated Press, which collects the news, and the Western Union Company, which transmits it. There are other press associations in each section of the country, as the New England, Western, Southern, &c., and subordinate associations in every city. The consent of each member of a subordinate association must be obtained before any new paper can receive the associated news.

The business of collecting, transmitting, and publishing this news has practically become a monopoly. All contracts for its transmission are terminable at the will of the Western Union Telegraph Company, either without notice or at the expiration of thirty days.

The Western Union Telegraph Company has exercised its power to terminate these contracts and cut off papers from

receiving the Associated Press news in the case of the *Alta Californian*, of San Francisco. It can discriminate by raising the rate to one and reducing it to another, thus ruining one and favoring the other. This power it exercised in the case of the San Francisco *Herald*, raising the rates from seven to fifteen cents a word, and reducing them to the Associated Press of California from 2.4 to 1.28 a word to each paper.

As to the proper functions of the telegraph, the committee says :

The sole end of a telegraph system is the receipt, transmission, and delivery of telegrams ; it should neither control the press nor commercial news, but should provide by uniform and low rates for the transmission of press and news telegrams, and give equal rights to all, and should not buy or sell commercial press news.

THE REDUCTION OF CHARGES.

The proposed bill reduces the rates so greatly that it is believed "specials" under the postal system will be as cheap as the Associated Press news under the present. The rates for night "specials" from Washington to a single Boston paper are \$3 for a hundred words, or \$4 50 if the same special is delivered to two papers, without any provision for reduced rates where it is dropped at way stations. Under the proposed plan, the rates for the same service to one paper would be \$1 50, to two papers \$1 70, with one-third less rates when dropped at way stations. These rates are less than those now charged to the Boston papers for the Associated Press news. Under the postal-telegraph system the agency now employed for the collection and distribution of commercial news will be reorganized, and its business performed by associations organized by merchants for that purpose. The low rates offered to such associations will not only correct existing evils, but prevent many other abuses, to which the present system offers a great temptation. Associations of the press and of merchants can be organized as freely as if there were rival and independent telegraph companies. The provision for specials at these low rates will, it is believed, make as great change in the relations of the telegraph to the press as resulted from the transfer of the telegraph in England from private companies to the government. There the number of towns to which the news reports are sent is nearly three times as large as formerly, and the number of

subscribers for the commercial news increased in larger proportions.

The telegraph companies sent reports to one hundred and seventy-three journals, which was increased in one year, under the postal service, to four hundred and sixty-seven, while the number of words daily transmitted during the session of Parliament was increased from about six thousand to twenty thousand, and in the same ratio for the rest of the year.

The report concludes as follows :

There are only three methods in which the telegraph business can be transacted: either by a private company unrestrained by any uniform system of law, by the proposed system, or by a purely governmental system.

It is believed that the system proposed combines the advantages of the private and governmental, and avoids many of the objections to each, and is therefore to be preferred. If experience should prove that it is not the best, Congress reserves the power either to terminate the contract or to buy the lines at an appraised value at any time.

It is objected that the proposed system will greatly increase executive patronage and power, by giving to the post office the control of the telegraph. These objections would apply in a greater or less degree to a purely governmental telegraph, but not to the postal telegraph, because the patronage will only be increased by the additional employees required to perform the office business, which will not exceed five or ten per cent of the present number of post office employees. The control of the telegraph will be divided between a company solely interested in the telegraph as a means of realizing profits, and the Post Office Department, which will have no control over the transmission of telegrams. It can not be perverted to any political purposes by the Government without the co-operation of the company, and under the present system the telegraph can be used by Government in co-operation with the Western Union Telegraph Company as easily as under that proposed.

While, under the proposed system, the press is freed from the power which the Western Union now exercises over it, and with a free press but little danger need be apprehended.

The Western Union Telegraph Company is in many respect the greatest monopoly of this or any other country, for, as we have shown, by its unlimited power of raising and reducing charges to the press, the press may be subsidized

to promote the private ends of the managers, and, by its control over the commercial news bureau, it obtains prior knowledge of all fluctuations in prices, which may be used for private speculations.

Mr. Orton has not assigned any sufficient public reason why the transfer of the telegraph to the post office should not take place immediately, while it does appear that the interests of the Western Union Telegraph have been greatly promoted by delay. When this committee reported a bill for uniting the two services, in January, 1870, the stock of the Western Union Telegraph Company was selling at thirty-three per cent., while at the present time it is selling at eighty per cent. Its business and offices have doubled, its rates have been greatly reduced without increasing its capital or reducing its net income, its lines have been very greatly extended, and its stock is to-day much cheaper at the present price than at that time, and is steadily advancing in value. It is therefore evident that it is for the interest of the company to defer this union, and if the next five years should witness only the same advance as the last five, from \$13,000,000 to \$32,000,000, the value of the property will have increased to \$80,000,000.

The bill proposes an immediate and uniform reduction in the rates, at least one-third, as will appear by reference to the annexed table, comparing the rates by the present with the postal system, and this great reduction will be effected without cost to the Government, while a governmental system would involve the expenditure of many millions of dollars. The great cost of the telegraph lines to Great Britain will appear by the copy of the official statement annexed to this report.

The committee are satisfied, from the arguments of Mr. Orton, that the business can be performed at the proposed rates in union with the post office, and as the expenses will be less the rates can be lower, and the facilities greater if such union is made than if the business should be carried on by a private company. These rates will, they believe, yield a liberal return upon the capital invested. The per centage of reduction of rates, 33½ per cent., is as great as was made in Great Britain on the union of the two services, and as great as, in the opinion of Mr. Sendamore, the head of the English telegraph, can safely be made at one time, with due regard to the prompt transmission of the increased business created by the union. A few extracts from a recent report of Mr.

Scudamore will show the benefits the people of Great Britain have received from this union. The offices were increased from 3,162 in June, 1870, to 5,531 in June, 1873, while the average number of messages per office was raised from 58 to 63 per week, and the annual number of messages increased from less than 7,000,000 the year prior to the transfer to 18,000,000 last year, and these cost the public just what 9,000,000 would have cost under the old arrangement. It cost \$4,960,000 to send 14,000,000 messages in Great Britain; \$9,300,000 to send the same number in this country.

The dividends expected to be made by the Postal Telegraph Company will exceed the interest upon bonds that would be issued by the Government, if it purchased the lines; but the greater economy obtained by retaining the management in the hands of parties who must look for their profits to such economy will more than offset this difference.

This bill neither gives a monopoly to the Postal Telegraph Company nor prohibits competition. The telegraph business can be carried on by any other company that can perform it more cheaply or promptly than under the postal system.

The bill gives telegrams the secrecy of sealed letters; throws around them the

protection of law; punishes all tampering with their contents; shuts no old offices, but opens many new ones close to the homes of the people; and by the low rate for night telegrams, thirty cents under 1,000 miles, and fifty cents for all greater distances, will create a business as great by night as by day, to the great benefit of the country, binding together all parts of the country by ties of interest and communication closer than any laws can do.

The committee believe that the measure will free the press from the weight constantly pressing upon it; will reorganize the commercial news department, and give to the public a cheap telegraph, with increased facilities, regulated by law, and that it should receive the sanction of Congress, and therefore report the accompanying bill, and recommend its adoption.

A synopsis of the bill as introduced was some time since published in *THE REPUBLIC*, but the bill as reported, while retaining the leading features of the original measure, has been carefully revised and very greatly improved, and now merits fully the commendations bestowed by the committee and ought to receive the sanction of Congress.

INDIAN EXTERMINATION OR CIVILIZATION.

"If the Government will agree to pay three hundred dollars per scalp, the extermination of the Indian races may be completed, by contract, within five years." These words were uttered in Washington recently, with apparent seriousness, in the presence of the Governor of Texas, two members of Congress, and the writer. Their author is a resident of a border State and a man of considerable intelligence. In the language used he expressed the popular sentiment of frontiersmen: "They are thieves, they are treacherous, they are vagabonds,"* is the verdict of desperadoes who in many cases may have already robbed them of their hunting grounds and almost of their humanity.

Up to a comparatively recent period the border pioneers and the Indians

whom they crowded back from their hunting and fishing places have generally cherished a feeling of distrust toward each other, which often ripened into enmity, intense hatred, and acts of hostility. The white man has, of necessity, been aggressive in his movements; and the Indian, naturally tenacious of his rights, becomes jealous and revengeful; and though neither party may have been viciously disposed before coming in contact, yet in their relations and intercourse, the principles of peace and harmony were too often disregarded, and an antagonism usurped their place. Thus the opposing parties lived in constant animosity toward each other; and the strongest were too frequently ready to redress their real or imaginary wrongs by banishing their weaker opponents from the neighborhood or striking them down upon the spot.

*Indian Commissioner's report, 1873, page 31.

It is well known, however, that much of the enmity heretofore existing between frontier settlers and the Indian tribes, was due to lawless desperadoes who followed close upon the advance of honest settlers for purposes of speculation and plunder, and whose success in their nefarious calling depended largely upon creating and keeping up an antagonism between the settlers and the Indians, which would require the presence of an army to prevent or suppress a war between savage and civilized life. Such is the testimony not only of the chiefs of the tribes, but of peaceably disposed settlers, and, in short, of all who have been long conversant with Indian affairs.† This will be demonstrated more fully in the subsequent evidence.

I. THE FORMER INDIAN POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

The Congress of the United States and the successive Administrations at Washington have always desired to maintain peaceable relations with the Indian tribes, and to secure harmony between them and the frontier settlers. The tribes have always been recognized as independent peoples, and their chiefs as sovereigns. With them treaties were made as with foreign nations. As a contracting party the Government adhered to its treaty stipulations and required the other party to do the same. But here the philanthropic efforts of the Government in a measure ended, and the work of the mischief-makers commenced.

DESTRUCTIVE FRONTIER WARS.

As civilization pressed forward and occupied the fertile plains and valleys, cherished as favorite hunting and fishing grounds by the Indians, the latter naturally opposed these intrusions, and although *bona-fide* settlers were careful not to give offense when it could be avoided, yet there were always a class of adventurers and lawless desperadoes present whose chief interest was in having an army present, and who never lost

an opportunity to bring about a war. The murder of an Indian or two by white outlaws was not considered a sufficient cause in itself for the presence of an army, but it was not unfrequently made the initiatory movement to bring about that result. Generally no arrest, trial, or punishment followed the offense. But if the chief, failing to see the offender punished, undertook to avenge the wrong committed against his tribe, a United States army order was immediately issued, and a war generally ensued. Colonel Bent, who has lived upon the Upper Arkansas, near Bent's fort, for thirty-six years, in his testimony before the Joint Committee of Congress on the condition of the Indian tribes, appointed March 3, 1865, stated that: "In nearly every instance difficulties between Indians and the whites arose from aggressions on the Indians by the whites." He cited cases in point. Among them were the war with the Sioux in 1854, and the war with the Arrapahoes and Cheyennes in 1865.—(*Appendix to Committee's Report, page 93.*) Kit Carson, who lived in the plains and upon the mountains of the Western country from 1826, in his testimony before the committee confirmed this statement: "As a general thing the difficulties arise from aggressions on the part of the whites, who are always cursing the Indians, and are not willing to do them justice."—(*Appendix to Report, page 95.*) The committee formed itself into three divisions for taking testimony, one branch in Kansas, the Indian Territory, Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah; another in California, Oregon, Nevada, Idaho, Montana, and Washington Territory; and the third in Minnesota, Nebraska, Dakota, and Upper Montana; and after coming together and comparing notes, the committee were forced to the opinion that, "In a large majority of cases Indian wars are to be traced to the aggressions of lawless white men, always to be found upon the frontier or boundary line between savage and civilized life."—(*Report of Committee, page 5.*)

Without going into details, this may

†Report of the Joint Special Committee of Congress on the condition of the Indian tribes, appointed March 3, 1865, page 5.

be accepted as a truthful representation of the state of affairs for nearly a hundred years past. Eighty years ago George Washington saw this evil and asked Congress to enact laws "for restraining the commission of outrages upon the Indian, without which all pacific plans must prove nugatory." "If measures like these were adopted," he said, "we might hope to live at peace and amity with these borderers; but not while our citizens, in violation of law and justice, are guilty of the offenses I have mentioned, and are carrying on unauthorized expeditions against them; and when for the most atrocious murders, even of those of whom we have the least cause of complaint, a jury on the frontier can hardly be gotten to listen to a charge, much less convict a culprit." * * * "They, poor wretches, have no press through which their grievances are related, and it is well known that when one side only of a story is heard and often repeated the human mind becomes impressed with it insensibly."*

The "Board of Indian Commissioners" is composed of gentlemen of great intelligence and practical business experience. Their chairman, Felix R. Brunot, and other members of the Board have traversed the frontier country in their official capacity, and made themselves personally familiar with the facts bearing upon this feature of the Indian question. In their report to the President of the United States, made November 28, 1872, they state that "hundreds of innocent settlers upon every frontier who have suffered from the revenge of the savage, drawn upon them by the acts of desperadoes and their coadjutors of a higher class, who profited by the disturbances, were unwittingly made instruments and participators in the deception. Time and again has the nation been made to pour out its treasure like water, and sacrifice the priceless lives of its citizens and soldiers to accomplish the objects of desperadoes, or satiate the

greed of speculators and land-robbers. A Mormon gives an Indian a crippled cow; when it recovers a frontiersman courts and attempts to take it from him, and, being resisted, demands the aid of soldiers, and a Sioux war results. Twenty millions of money are spent, and, far worse, the lamented Fetterman and ninety-eight of his command are killed in a day, and hundreds of innocent lives on the border are sacrificed." Again: "The negro servant of a military officer entices the wife of a Navajo chief, and is killed in the consequent affray. The Navajoes have large herds and fine lands, which are wanted. They are a pastoral and agricultural people, not warlike, but war ensues. In two years they are conquered, and moved to a distant reservation as prisoners of war. Half of their number die. The remaining five or six thousand are brought back at last, poor and miserable, to occupy a part of their former home. What did it cost in lives and treasure to accomplish the crime?" Again: "The greed for gold and land causes its rapacious subjects to overrun the country of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, when the ink of the treaty which guaranteed them its possession is hardly yet dried on the paper; and with no provocation proved, a regiment of volunteers perpetrate the infamous Sand Creek massacre. *The consequent war costs hundreds of lives, the depopulation of the border, and thirty millions of dollars.* Those humiliating wars, humiliating alike in their origin and their end, are but some of the more recent of many still less justifiable in their origin, and are only suggested as to the degree to which that public opinion has been perverted which made them possible."*

OTHER CAUSES TENDING TO EXTERMINATION.

While their own inter-tribal feuds and our border wars have been prolific sources of mortality among the tribes and bands of Indians, they have been for half a century past rapidly decreasing.

* Washington's Speech in Congress and Letter to Pendleton.

* Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1872, page 20.

ing from other causes, many of which are familiar to those who have given the subject any attention. Prominent among these are—

1. The march of civilization, which has driven the tribes from post to post, depriving them of their fishing streams and hunting grounds, and reducing them to starvation, followed by disease and death.

2. Small-pox, measles, cholera, and venereal diseases—all unknown among them previous to contact with white men—are now sources of a largely-increased mortality.

3. Intemperance and the exposure and disease resulting from indulgence.

4. A largely increased mortality among children from insufficient nourishment, neglect, exposure, and hereditary venereal diseases.

The joint Congressional committee of 1867 on the condition of the Indian tribes and bands within the United States collected a mass of reliable evidence showing that the number of red men was rapidly decreasing, and that the decrease was mainly the result of adopting and practicing the vices and rejecting the virtues of advancing white population—a condition which the Indian policy of the Government failed to comprehend or prevent to any considerable extent. If these causes of mortality should not be checked, the extinction of the Indian races in the United States would soon be completed without other auxiliary influences.

The Government Indian policy was no doubt well adapted to the primitive condition of the country when it was originally put in practice. Then the area of the United States was confined to a very limited portion of the Atlantic slope. The border confines were contracted, and treaties with the few tribes in immediate contact with white communities secured their own friendship and their co-operation in keeping the unknown tribes beyond them on friendly relations. But all this has become changed by the expansion of the national domain and the increase of its

population. The old Indian policy has, as a result, outlived its day, and must now of necessity pass into history, and give place to a system better adapted to the altered condition of the country, and more in conformity with the philanthropic spirit of the age.

II.—THE NEW INDIAN POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

During the recent war the attention of Congress and the Administration was so thoroughly absorbed that no special attention could be given to the Indian question, and the former system was continued without change or modification. At the commencement of the Grant Administration this question was taken up and gravely considered. The President unhesitatingly gave it as the firm conviction of his own mind that the system of driving the Indians back and farther away by the advance of the border settlements is a mistake, and expressed himself in favor of bringing them within the precincts of civilization and under the control of civil authority. The proposition was a bold one, and involved a thorough change of policy. It was seriously considered, however, by the Administration, and finally adopted as the basis of the future policy of the Government toward all the Indians within the United States. The work will necessarily require a period of years for its development; but it was commenced without unnecessary delay, and has been vigorously prosecuted up to the present time, with, as is indicated by the official reports and by evidence from other sources, results fully up to the reasonable anticipations of the most sanguine philanthropist.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE WORK—RE-ORGANIZATION.

When a change in the Indian policy was decided upon many of the different agencies were known to be represented by agents who were deficient in the qualifications required under the policy about to be substituted. But before changes were made a thorough investigation of the actual number and condition of the Indian agencies was compiled

and reported, showing the following results :

TOTAL NUMBER OF INDIANS AND INDIAN AGENCIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

The following compilation gives the name of the agency in each State or Territory, and the number of Indians under the supervision of each agency :

*No. of
Indians.*

<i>New York.</i> —Forrestville agency,	5,141
<i>Michigan.</i> —Lansing agency.....	9,167
<i>Wisconsin.</i> —La Pointe agency,	
5,125 ; Green Bay, 3,000.....	8,125
<i>Iowa.</i> —Sac and Fox agency.....	335
<i>Minnesota.</i> —Chippewa agency,	
4,547 ; Red Lake, 1,141.....	5,688
<i>Nebraska.</i> —Great Nemaha agency,	
316 ; Winnebago, 1,522 ;	
Omaha, 1,001 ; Pawnee, 2,376 ;	
Ottoo, 447 ; Santee, 917.....	6,579
<i>Kansas.</i> —Kickapoo agency, 274 ;	
Kansas or Kaw, 533 ; Pottawatomie, 483.....	1,290
<i>Indian Territory.</i> —Quapaw agency,	
1,219 ; Neosho, 2,823 ; Sac	
and Fox, 1,136 ; Kiowa and	
Kamanche, 5,002 ; Wichita,	
1,528 ; Upper Arkansas, 3,970 ;	
Cherokee, 17,217 ; Choctaw,	
22,000 ; Creek, 13,000 ; Semi-	
nole, 2,438.....	70,333
<i>New Mexico.</i> —Navajo agency,	
9,114 ; Mescalero Apache, 1,875 ;	
Cimarron, 1,210 ; Southern	
Apache, 500 ; Pueblo, 7,879 ;	
Abiquiu, 1,270.....	21,848
<i>Dakota.</i> —Yankton agency, 1,947 ;	
Sisseton, 1,540 ; Devil's Lake,	
1,021 ; Cheyenne River, 6,000 ;	
Whetstone, 5,000 ; Grand River,	
6,269 ; Fort Berthold, 2,103 ;	
Upper Missouri, (Crow Creek,) 3,000 ;	
Ponca, 738 ; Flandreau, 250.....	27,867
<i>Colorado.</i> —White River agency,	
800 ; Los Pinos, 3,199 ; Denver,	
350.....	4,349
<i>Arizona.</i> —Pima and Maricopa	
agency, 4,326 ; Colorado River,	
8,024 ; Moquis Pueblo, 1,700 ;	
Papago, 6,000 ; Camp Verde,	
2,058 ; Camp Apache, 2,814 ;	
Chiricahua, 1,100.....	26,022
<i>Montana.</i> —Blackfeet agency,	
7,500 ; Crow and Lemhi Farm,	
4,877 ; Milk River, 10,625 ;	
Flathead, 1,821 ; Fort Belknap,	
7,130.....	31,953
<i>Wyoming.</i> —Shoshonee and Ban-	
nack's agency, 1,024 ; Red	
Cloud, 9,177.....	10,201

<i>Utah.</i> —Uintah Valley agency....	1,718
<i>Idaho.</i> —Fort Hall agency, 1,500 ;	
Nez Perce, 2,807.....	4,307
<i>Washington Territory.</i> —Neah	
Bay agency, 604 ; Yakama,	
3,000 ; S'Kokomish, 875 ; Tu-	
lulip, 3,600 ; Quinaliet, 554 ;	
Colville, 3,349 ; Puyallup, 1,200 ;	
Chehalis, 600.....	13,782
<i>Oregon.</i> —Warm Springs agency,	
626 ; Gran Ronde, 924 ; Siletz,	
1,058 ; Umatilla, 837 ; Klamath,	
1,120 ; Alsea, 343 ; Malheur,	
1,200 ; not under any agent, (estimated,) 3,000.....	9,108
<i>California.</i> —Hoopa Valley agency,	
725 ; Round Valley, 1,119 ;	
Tule River, 317 ; Mission, 4,000 ;	
not under any agent, (estimated,) 15,000.....	20,161
<i>Nevada.</i> —Pyramid Lake agency,	
6,000 ; S. E. Nevada, 3,000 ;	
not under any agent, (estimated,) 4,204.....	13,204
Indians in North Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, and Texas, not under any agent, (estimated).....	2,000

Total number of Indians in the United States, (exclusive of those in Alaska)... 293,178

APPOINTMENT OF SUPERINTENDENTS AND AGENTS.

The different religious denominations were asked to nominate superintendents and agents to represent each Indian agency in the United States, the conditions being that the nominees must be fully indorsed as to their thorough business qualifications and good moral character. The religious denominations responded, and in time the change of superintendents and agents was completed. This was an important advance in the right direction. Under the former system partnerships between the agent and trader, or agent and contractors ; receipting for supplies never delivered ; over estimating the weight of cattle delivered by the contractor ; taking vouchers in blank to be filled with fraudulent sums ; carrying false names upon the rolls ; paying employees for whom there was no employment ; reporting employees at higher or lower salaries than provided by law, and using the difference for other purposes ; farming out the appointments controlled by the agent ;

using annuity goods for the agents or employees; trading with the Indians; selling them their own goods; selling annuity goods to whites; conniving with others to swindle Indians out of the annuities after distribution; having Indian concubines, and allowing similar license to employees; and many other abuses had become so general that an honest and moral agent was the exception. Under the present system such practices are the exceptional cases, and when discovered the remedy is at once applied.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES REPRESENTED IN THE INDIAN SERVICE.

One of the merits of the new system is the entire absense of partiality or preference in the denominational selection of agents for the Indian service. The experiment of appointing agents on the recommendation of prominent denominational associations was made first in Nebraska and Kansas. These were appointed by the Executive on the recommendation of two societies of Friends, the appointees being in all cases recognized members of one or two other of these religious bodies; and while duly subordinate and responsible in all official respects to the Indian office, maintaining close correspondence with committees of their respective societies appointed for that purpose. So fortunate were the results of this system of appointment in Kansas and Nebraska considered that it was decided by the Executive that all the agencies in the States and Territories should be filled by appointment upon the recommendation of some religious body. The agencies were then apportioned among the prominent denominational associations of the country, or the missionary societies representing such denominational views. These associations or societies were requested to place themselves in communication with the Department of the Interior, to make nominations of agents for the agencies assigned them, to be filled as the vacancies were made, and in

and through this extra official relationship to assume charge of the intellectual and moral education of the Indians, by teachers, preachers, and missionaries, who were brought under the superintendence of the agents they had recommended. The reason for this arrangement was the disirableness of securing harmony between agents and missionaries, complaints having become general that in the frequent change of agents, formerly, no missionary efforts could long be carried on at any specified agency without encountering, sooner or later, from some agent of different religious views, or of no religious views, a degree of opposition or persecution which would extinguish the missionary work and destroy the fruits of past labors.

The following appointment of the agencies among the several religious associations and missionary societies is condensed from the official report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1872. No material changes have since been made:

Denominations.	Number of agencies.	Number of Indians.
Hicksite Friends.....	6	6,598
Orthodox Friends.....	10	17,724
Baptists	5	40,800
Presbyterians	9	38,069
Christians	2	8,287
Methodists	14	54,473
Catholics	7	17,856
Reformed Dutch.....	5	8,118
Congregationlist	3	14,476
Episcopalians	8	26,929
American Board of Com. for Foreign Missions...	1	1,496
Unitarians.....	2	3,800
Lutherans.....	1	273
Total.....	73	238,899

This embraces nearly the entire Indian population. A commendable emulation is manifested by teachers and missionaries and the results are already amply sufficient to warrant the conclusion that the new Indian policy may be placed high up among the grand achieve-

*Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners for 1872, page 4.

ments of the Government during the last decade. It must not be imagined, however, that very large results have yet been accomplished. The progress has been highly satisfactory and its progressive, but perseverance, patience, and time are required, and with these it is not too much to expect the entire civilization of the tribes and remnants of tribes within the United States at no distant period. As indicating what has been done, the following compilation from the Commissioner's report for 1873 will be examined with interest:

INDIAN POPULATION, WEALTH, SCHOOLS, CHURCHES, &C.

Number of Indians, exclusive of those in Alaska	295,084
Wealth in individual property.....	\$16,082,155
Schools upon reservations.....	285
Scholars—Male, 4,792; female, 4,234.....	9,026
Teachers—Male, 172; female, 185.....	357
School-houses.....	167
Aid to schools from religious societies.....	\$27,173
Contributed by Indians for same....	1,112
Number of missionaries among Indians.....	91
Number of Indians brought immediately under the civilizing influence of the agencies.....	33,637
Number who have learned to read during the year.....	1,419
Church buildings on reservations..	103
Church members, Indians.....	9,664

Here is positive and very gratifying evidence of progress in the right direction. Religious societies, feeling assured that the old system of constantly changing the agents is abandoned for a permanent and a better class of agents of their own selecting, have gone into the missionary and educational work with increased zeal and more liberal donations of funds.

INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS OF THE INDIANS.

The following statistics are full of interest, as showing the number of acres of land in Indian reservations and the number under cultivation; number of houses occupied by the Indians; the kinds and quantities of crops raised in the year ending September 30, 1873; and the kinds and value of stock owned by the Indians. We have room only to give the totals, omitting details. The figures

are from official returns, and can be safely accepted as being correct:

Number of acres in reservations*... 102,120,584	
Acres in reservations cultivated by Indians.....	297,075
Acres in reservations cultivated by Government.....	6,509
Acres broken by Indians during the year.....	34,218
Acres broken by Government during the year.....	3,848
Rods of fence made during the year.	573,982
Feet of lumber sawed during the year.....	9,139,607
Houses—log frame, and stone—occupied by Indians.....	17,678
Houses occupied by Government employees.....	193
Carpenter and blacksmith shops....	251
Saw and grist mills.....	10
Bushels of wheat raised.....	288,306
Bushels of corn raised.....	1,892,801
Bushels of oats raised.....	202,803
Bushels of rye raised.....	1,802
Bushels of barley raised.....	14,560
Bushels of potatoes raised.....	495,548
Bushels of turnips raised.....	30,446
Bushels of beans, peas, beets, onions, &c., raised.....	62,000
Number of pumpkins, squashes, and melons.....	100,000
Number of bales of cotton.....	5,000
Number of bushels apples sold.....	10,000
Number of bushels cranberries gathered.....	300
Number of pounds of flax raised....	700
Number of pounds of rice gathered.	5,325
Number of pounds of sugar made....	476,603
Number of pounds of sugar sold....	131,512
Number of barrels fish caught.....	3,655
Value of furs and buffalo robes sold.	\$325,510
Number of railroad ties cut.....	4,000
Number of cords of wood cut.....	10,000
Number of tons of hay cut.....	161,543
Number of tons of hay sold.....	30,450
Number of horses, mules, and ponies owned.....	284,400
Value of same.....	\$3,788,091
Number of cattle owned.....	354,462
Value of same.....	\$3,787,898
Number of swine owned.....	449,579
Value of same.....	\$323,056
Number of sheep owned.....	214,313
Value of same.....	\$520,088

These figures are the evidences of industry, and of the fact that the Indian will work when the motive to do so presents itself and the opportunity is offered.

DECREASE OF WARS, MURDERS, AND CRIMES.

It is too early in the progress of the

* Excepting several not reported.

new experiment to expect large results in this direction, yet something has been accomplished. The Board of Indian Commissioners report that "nearly five-sixths of all the Indians of the United States and Territories are now either civilized or partially civilized, and the records show that under their present treatment they commit a smaller number of serious crimes against the whites than an equal number of white men in any part of the Western country commit against each other."*

Inter-tribal wars are yet reported occasionally, but they are mainly among the tribes and bands who have not yet come upon reservations, to which they are invited, or put themselves or their children under the moral and educational influences of the agency missionaries and teachers.

The number of murders have very perceptibly diminished, as is indicated by the agency returns for 1873, which show the following aggregate results :

Number of Indians killed by their own tribe during the year.....	178
Number of Indians killed by hostile Indians during the year.....	185
Number of Indians killed by whites during the year.....	20
Number of white persons killed by Indians during the year.....	21

The Modoc massacre, as is fully shown by the elaborate report made by Mr. Meacham, chairman of the special commission, and by the annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1873, page 12, was clearly "the result of changing agencies and policies too often, and the absence of well-defined regulations regarding the relative duties and powers of the Indian and military departments, the citizens and the Indians. While the 'humane policy' is the correct one, it ought to be well defined, and then intrusted to men selected on account of fitness for the work. No branch of public service more imperatively demands observance of this rule, and when it shall have been fully recognized and adhered to by appointing men to the care of our Indian population whose

hearts are in the work, who understand the duties assigned, and whose term of office depends on faithfully-achieved success, we may hope to hear of Indian wars *no more*."*

DECREASE OF MORTALITY.

Statistical returns show a marked decrease of mortality among the civilized Indians, as compared with those not yet under the influence of the sanitary regulations observed upon the reservations, together with the better supply of food and proper medical treatment. The returns show, also, that under these conditions, where the marriage relation is strictly observed, the increase of population is equal to that of white communities. These facts afford conclusive evidence that mere contact with white men and his enterprise is not a cause of increased mortality among the Indians, only as it offers new temptations to vice which in his inexperience the Indian is not careful to resist.

COMPARATIVE COST OF THE TWO METHODS OF INDIAN MANAGEMENT.

So far the annual appropriations for Indian affairs have been larger since than before the new policy was introduced; and by jumping at conclusions we might be led to suppose that the actual cost of the Indians to the Government had been increased on account of the working of the new system. We must remember, however, that the ten, twenty, and thirty millions of dollars formerly paid through the War Department for suppressing Indian wars is not taken into account, but which, if added, would forcibly demonstrate the economy of the new and humane system of treatment.

Nor should we lose sight of the fact, in a comparative examination of the case, that the field of operations with the Indians is now vastly larger, and necessarily more expensive than it was a few years ago. When the war commenced in 1861, there was scarcely a rail laid in the Indian country; now their hunting grounds are covered with a network of railways, and the Indians are

* Fourth Annual Report, 1872, page 3.

* Meacham's Report on the Modoc War.

deprived of their former means of subsistence, and must, to a large extent, starve or be fed at the Government's expense. They are being gathered upon reservations as rapidly as the work can be accomplished and they can be induced to change their former habits of life, and yield to the process of civilization. As this work goes on toward completion the cost of the Indians to the nation will be diminished, and then the expenses of Indian wars will no longer be a tax upon the War Department.

CONCLUSION.

We have endeavored, in the limited space allowed, to present this question in its true aspect, as seen before and since the change of policy adopted by the Government in its management of the Indians within the national domain. The whole thing is changed; the Indians in their relation to the Government, and the Government in its duty to them. They are no longer held in the light of enemies or treaty-making powers; they are wards, children in their minority, to be cared for as such, and fitted to become citizens, by education, civilization, and a practical knowledge of industrial pursuits. The former wretched system of irresponsible agents and superintendents, controlled by political influence, has been succeeded by the selection of a class of eminently qualified men, uninfluenced by politics, responsible to the Societies who recommended them and the Executive by whom they were appointed.

The President has placed at the head

of the Indian Bureau a Christian Commissioner of great intelligence, and practical experience among the Indians. Out of jealousy the tongue of calumny attempted his ruin; he demanded an investigation; it was granted, and he came out of the fiery trial "pure gold," and enjoys to the fullest extent the confidence of the President, his Cabinet, and Congress. His heart is in the work. His devoted wife has been years his associate in laboring for the Indians at the White Earth agency in Minnesota, where she continued instructing the young, and teaching the Indian women to read, sew, and weave, for some time after her husband was called to Washington to take charge of the Indian Bureau.

A rigid economy in Congress—exceedingly necessary and eminently proper in its place—is questioning the propriety of making the appropriations asked for by the Indian Commissioner for the ensuing fiscal year. No man can know better than the Commissioner just what amount is needed to enable the Bureau to do its duty toward the national wards upon the frontier, now rendered comparatively helpless by the progress of our great prosperity westward. Neither the sterling integrity of the Commissioner nor the correctness of his judgment are doubted. If, then, his estimates are for seven, eight, or even ten millions, let the amount be granted, that the humane enterprise may go on uninterrupted to a successful consummation. The Government can not afford to stop or even halt in this enterprise.

THE PROPOSED IMMIGRATION OF MENNONITES.

For a year or more past representatives of the Mennonite colonies in Russia have been examining the Government lands in the United States with a view to immigration. And now that a bill has been introduced in Congress with a view of granting certain concessions in the sale of public lands which they ask, in order to justify the com-

mencement of preparations to emigrate, to the number of some forty or fifty thousand persons, from Russia to America, a sketch of their past history, religion, and habits, together with the causes which have influenced their emigration, will be read with interest.

The Mennonites had their origin mainly in Germany, where they were

noted for industry and success as farmers. They, however, were subjected to persecution and oppression by the Government, and a portion of them immigrated to the United States, while the main body accepted proposals made by Catharine II of Russia, and emigrated to the fertile plains of Southern Russia, near the shores of the Black sea and the sea of Azov. Here, as an inducement to leave their homes in Germany, they were offered "perpetual freedom from bearing arms, the rights of self-government, and the full enjoyment of their religious principles." These terms, with other conditions and details, were accepted, and Mennonitish families commenced an emigration from Germany to Russia which has continued until their numbers in the former country were exhausted, and they numbered in Russia, with the natural increase, seven large and a hundred or more small colonies. They do not live in communes, but each father has his own farm, generally of large size, and raises a family of ten or twelve children. They are consistent Bible Christians, give great attention to education, and are practically familiar with the cultivation of wheat and other cereals, together with grapes, olives, English walnuts, almonds, &c. They are also experienced in the cultivation of mulberry orchards and the management of silk-worms.

But by a decree of the Russian Government they are to be deprived of certain immunities which they have hitherto enjoyed, the new order to take effect at the expiration of ten years from June, 1871, the date of the imperial decree. In the mean time, they desire to dispose of their property in Russia and find new homes in North America. The Dominion of Canada is holding out strong inducements to the Mennonites to settle in Manitoba. They have examined that country, and it is possible that a portion of them may accept the terms offered, but the main body of them, and probably the entire forty to fifty thousand, will come to the United States, where they will be under our Govern-

ment. They will require about five hundred thousand acres of land, but have no strong desire to settle all together. The wheat-growers will select as their choice the Territory of Dakota; the sheep-growers prefer the Indian Territory or Texas. They will disseminate into various States, but will keep together in communities large enough to support good schools and churches.

HISTORY OF THE MENNONITES IN AMERICA.

Edwards, the Baptist historian, informs us that "some Mennonite families were in the Province of Pennsylvania as early as the year 1692, who came hither from New York government, which at first belonged to the Dutch, and was called New Netherlands, extending from the river Delaware to the river Connecticut. They settled in the neighborhood now called Germantown and Frankfort, &c. Other families soon followed, and after them many came directly from Europe, insomuch that May 23, 1708, there was a church settled at Germantown, consisting of fifty-two members, which exists to this day, (1770,) and is not only the first in the Province, but in some sort the mother of all the rest. In about sixteen years after this church had branched out to Skippeck, Conestoga, Great Swamp, and Monatony, and become five churches, to which appertained sixteen ministers. The present (1770) state of the Mennonites in this Province is as follows: First, their churches which contain many branches are 13; second, the meeting houses belonging to them are 42; third, their ordained ministers or bishops are 15; fourth, their probationary or licensed preachers are 53; fifth, the families are about 810, which, allowing five to a family, contain 4,050 souls, whereof 1,448 persons are baptized and members of their churches."

The Mennonites, in common with other communities, spread in different directions. They formed settlements, and now have congregations and churches in Virginia, Ohio, and Western New York and the Canadas, but

they are the most numerous in the State where they first planted their standard on the American soil. This remark holds good of both the old and the new connection.

The new connection of Mennonites was formed by a seceding party from the old body in 1811. Connected with it are about 700 members in Pennsylvania, from 150 to 200 in New York, about 200 in Upper Canada, and small detachments of them are found in Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, &c. The cause of the separation was purely on the principles of experimental religion, which the new interest sought to inculcate and maintain, in the spirit as well as the letter, according to the pattern set them by Menno Simon and his associates. They complain that the old body "have deviated from time to time and fallen away particularly in the spiritual part of religion, have become lukewarm and carnally-minded, seeking transitory things more than spiritual, holding more to the letter and outward form than to the spirit and real substance of religion."

The Mennonites in the Old World for ages past have, as a general thing, administered baptism by pouring water and laying on of hands, and the same is true of them in this country, both of the old and new connection; they are, however, the decided opponents of infant baptism in all its forms.

The Mennonites in this country have now 300 churches, 250 ministers, and 36,280 communicants, as reported in the

Baptist Almanac for 1860. They are a plain, quiet people, somewhat of the Quaker style of life and habits.

THE INDUSTRY OF THE RUSSIAN MENNONITES.

The Mennonites are industrious and frugal. They have for many years been shipping an average of ten million bushels of wheat to the European markets, and it is said the superior quality of their wheat is so well established in the London and Liverpool markets that it usually commands eight or ten cents per bushel more than other importations.

A portion of them will give their attention to the cultivation of mulberry orchards and the production of silk-worms, a most acceptable and much-needed acquisition; for, notwithstanding that the mulberry tree abounds in the forests of many of our States, and the climate is in every way adapted to the propagation of silk-worms, yet this industry has not received that attention which its merits demand, and much of the silk goods manufactured in this country are the product of imported raw silk.

Placed in wheat-growing districts this accession to our population would soon increase the surplus product of cereals alone so as to send four or five hundred additional cargoes to Europe, and add twenty or twenty-five millions of gold annually to the United States Treasury, or bring back that amount in Government bonds now held in Europe.

THE WORK OF THE FORTY-THIRD CONGRESS—THE CURRENCY.

THE APPROPRIATION BILLS.

A number of the most important of the regular appropriation bills yet remain to be perfected. They are in various stages of advancement, but have been generally delayed by the exciting topics which have intervened. The currency, cheap transportation, the civil-rights bill, the bankrupt law, the centennial bill, and several others have

claimed a large share of the attention of Congress during the last three months. The labor of preparing and finally passing those bills is very great, requiring a high order of ability and long experience, as well as careful inspection and unwearied patience. The chairmen of the committees have no sinecure position. They often struggle for time and opportunity against formidable and ad-

verse influences. One evil of this almost inevitable procrastination is the often hasty and vicious legislation crowded upon the last hours of the session. It may truly be said that in matters of legislation there is more danger of injury being done to some vital interest in the last two days of a session than in all the preceding portion of a term.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL.

Since the return of Senator Edmunds this bill has been reported from the Judiciary Committee, to which it was referred before the death of Senator Sumner. It is very likely that Congress may be in a mood to pass this bill either modified or as it is now presented. Its provisions have been carefully revised and guarded by all the possible expedients of legislation. It is, however, doubtful if anything can be done to reconcile the Southern communities, especially to the measure of the mixed schools, which is made by many so vital a point in the framing of the law. That a strong prejudice still lingers in many localities against the full civil privileges of the colored people renders it a difficult matter of legislation, and it is likely that time and the favoring circumstances of the future will be required to bring about a more perfect accord between the two races. Laws may do much toward the education of the public sentiment, but then public sentiment must underlie and support the laws.

THE CENTENNIAL BILL.

There seems to be a better feeling in regard to this subject than existed a few weeks since. The House have fixed a day to consider the measure of appropriating three millions of dollars for the national celebration. The people of the State of Pennsylvania, and especially of the city of Philadelphia, have shown a magnanimity that may well cheer their representatives in Congress, and serve as a stimulus to the other States of the Union. The hundred years of the Republic deserve a fitting memorial, and we doubt not the patriotism of the people will rise with the magnitude of the occasion, and

make the year 1876 memorable for all after generations. Something has been done by way of beginning, but there is none too much time for the preparation even if it were all assiduously employed.

THE BANKRUPT LAW.

The Senate has sent this law, with various modifications, to the House, and a fresh discussion has there been excited. The provisions of the law, as it now stands, are thought to operate unequally on the people of different sections, or rather to be more favorable to some communities than to others, not because the bill in itself is partial, but because it is designed to apply to such differing conditions of the population. For example, the people of Virginia and the Southern States generally are in a more helpless condition as to debts and the means of paying debts than those of New England, or of the Middle and Western States. In consequence of this a law of bankruptcy which would secure most of the advantages of such legislation to the latter sections might operate injuriously or oppressively in the former sections. But as the law must be general in its application, so it must have general provisions, and at the same time contain, so far as possible, all the specific advantages which may be extended to honest but unfortunate debtors, with as little injury as possible to their creditors. The true philosophy of a bankrupt law is the security of the mutual benefit of the two classes under circumstances of honest misfortune.

LOUISIANA AFFAIRS.

The discussion upon Mr. Carpenter's bill providing for a new election in this State has been resumed in the Senate. Several Senators have spoken upon the subject. The argument of Senator Frelinghuysen a few days since is regarded by many as his ablest effort thus far in his Senatorial career. It is thought to be unanswerable by many on the question of the constitutional power of the Federal Government over the subject. But the exposition of the facts occurring in Louisiana, out of which the present inquiry grows, as made by Senator Car-

penter, can not be justly questioned or controverted. It remains to be seen whether any new light will be evolved upon the long vexed question of the Federal and State relations.

SUCCESSOR OF SENATOR SUMNER.

Massachusetts has at length filled the vacant chair of Sumner, by placing in it her present Governor, Washburn. The able gentlemen who were so long the leading competitors for this high place, though disappointed, perhaps, for the time, may console themselves that neither of them has lost in the public estimation of their character or ability as wise and prudent statesmen. It seems altogether due to circumstances of a purely impersonal kind that neither of them could obtain a majority vote. But they are both in public positions of high honor and great usefulness, and it may be that the country will be benefited more by their retention of these positions. Meanwhile Governor Washburn will be transferred from the highest office of his honored State to that great arena where his immediate predecessor has won all the renown in which his name and memory will descend the stream of time. The new Senator may not fill the measure of those who have preceded him in massive intellect or finished scholarship, but he will equal them in every pure and manly quality and in honest, practical, business like ability.

Mr. Washburn has three times been elected as Governor of Massachusetts, and it may be said that he has filled nearly every political office of worth and consideration in the choice of the people of his State. On the 31st of January, 1820, William B. Washburn was born in the town of Winchendon, Mass. Preparatory to entering college his studies were pursued at the Groton Academy, and he graduated from the University of Yale with honors in the year 1844, being then in his early prime of life, twenty-four years of age. He was a business man, and is to this day engaged in and interested in manufactures. Being left an orphan at an early age his youth was one earnest and persistent struggle

for an education and a livelihood. He has resided for many years in Greenfield, Mass., and was for a lengthened term president of the Greenfield Bank. In 1850 Mr. Washburn entered political life, and four years later he was sent to the General Assembly of Massachusetts. In 1856, like all the young and brilliant men of his time, he was swept into the tide and became an ardent Republican. For eighteen years he has acted with honest purpose toward his party, and his integrity is beyond the breath of reproach. Senator Washburn was elected for the first time to Congress in 1862, and then he was three times re-elected. In 1871 Mr. Washburn left his seat in Congress to become Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, defeating General Butler for the Republican nomination. In the memorable contest with General B. F. Butler last year the subject of this sketch was again nominated and, of course, elected. Personally Senator Washburn has a fine appearance—broad, open brow, the wide, firm mouth, which is characteristic of all the Washburns. In private and public life he bears a stainless reputation among the citizens of his State.

CHEAP TRANSPORTATION.

This subject has roused the attention of Congress and the country as never before in our history. It has become a matter of vital consideration. The relations between the producing and carrying classes of our wide domain have to be readjusted. The western empire of cereals and other substance must find an outlet to the markets of the world at a cheaper rate. This is an object worthy of the national concern, and Congress has done well at least to inaugurate some steps in this direction.

BURNING the dead is receiving considerable attention in this country, as well as in Europe. An association in favor of cremation has been formed in the city of New York. Already Yankee ingenuity is in the market with patent furnaces for disposing of the dead. What next?